Racism in the United States

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Racism in the United States has existed since the colonial era, when European Americans were given legally or socially sanctioned privileges and rights denied to other races or minorities. Major racially and ethnically structured institutions include slavery, segregation, Native American reservations, Native American boarding schools, immigration and naturalization law, and internment camps. In his 2009 visit to the US, the [UN] Special Rapporteur on Racism noted that "Socio-economic indicators show that poverty and race and ethnicity continue to overlap in the United States. During the 2010s, American society continues to experience high levels of racism and discrimination. One new phenomenon has been the rise of the "alt-right" movement: a white nationalist coalition that seeks the expulsion of sexual and racial minorities from the United States.

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A

- We must make the Negro our friend... We can do this if we will. Should we make him our enemy under the prompting of the Yankees, whose aim is to force us to recognize him on a basis of equality, then our path lies through a way red with blood and damp with tears...
  - James Alcorn, letter to Amelia Alcorn, as quoted in *After Appomattox: How the South Won the War* (https://books.google.com/books?id=Y7SNNPRRnToC&pg=PA28&dq=%22red+with+blood+and+damp+with+tears.%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CB0Q6AEwAGoVChMI2pyJ3uL3xwIVw5ANCh1OcwBy#v=onepage&q=%22red%20with%20blood%20and%20damp%20with%20tears.%22&f=false), by Stetson Kennedy, p. 28.
- 'Race' and 'ethnicity' categories have changed significantly over time to reflect changes in the American population. Since 1900, 26 different racial terms have been used to identify populations in the U.S. Census. **Preserving outdated terms for the sake of questionable continuity is a disservice to the nation and the American people.**
  - American Anthropological Association, "Response to OMB Directive 15" (http://www.aaanet.org/gvt/ombdraft.htm) (September 1997), *Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting*, Arlington County, Virginia: American Anthropological Association.
- Yet **the concept of race has become thoroughly, and perniciously, woven into the cultural and political fabric of the United States. It has become an essential element of both individual identity and government policy. Because so much harm has been based on 'racial' distinctions over the years, correctives for such harm must also acknowledge the impact of 'racial' consciousness among the**

U.S. populace, regardless of the fact that 'race' has no scientific justification in human biology. Eventually, however, these classifications must be transcended and replaced by more non-racist and accurate ways of representing the diversity of the U.S. population. This is the dilemma and opportunity of the moment. It is important to recognize the categories to which individuals have been assigned historically in order to be vigilant about the elimination of discrimination. Yet ultimately, the effective elimination of discrimination will require an end to such categorization, and a transition toward social and cultural categories that will prove more scientifically useful and personally resonant for the public than are categories of 'race'. Redress of the past and transition for the future can be simultaneously effected.

  - American Anthropological Association, "Response to OMB Directive 15" (http://www.aaanet.org/gvt/ombdraft.htm) (September 1997), *Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting*, Arlington County, Virginia: American Anthropological Association.

- Negroes are American citizens. First class taxpayers, but so often treated as second class citizens, if there is such. In our hearts, we would like to know what it is that the white man has against the negro. What can we do to make peace with the white man? **We have to live on this earth together. We cannot do without each other**. We as a group, want your friendship, won't you accept?

  - Floy J. Anderson, letter to Dwight David Eisenhower (https://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/civil_rights_citizens_letters/1957_10_15_anderson.pdf) (15 October 1957), San Francisco, California.

- No Distinction of Race! No Distinction of Color!

  - Anonymous Unionist, as quoted in *Richmond Daily Dispatch* (https://archive.is/nhsYB) (13 November 1863).

- Even after decades of affirmative action, black and Hispanic students are more underrepresented at the nation's top colleges and universities than they were 35 years ago, according to a New York Times analysis.

  - Jeremy Ashkenas, Haeyoun Park and Adam Pearce,"Even With Affirmative Action, Blacks and Hispanics Are More Underrepresented at Top Colleges Than 35 Years Ago" (https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/08/24/us/affirmative-action.html), *New York Times*, (Aug. 24, 2017).

- "You start out in 1954 by saying: 'Nigger, nigger, nigger.' By 1968, you can't say 'nigger' – that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states' rights and all that stuff. You're getting so abstract now [that] you're talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you're talking about are totally economic things and a byproduct of them is [that] blacks get hurt worse than whites. And subconsciously maybe that is part of it. I'm not saying that. But I'm saying that if it is getting that abstract, and that coded, that we are doing away with the racial problem one way or the other. You follow me – because obviously sitting around saying 'We want to cut this' is much more abstract than even the busing thing, and a hell of a lot more abstract than 'Nigger, nigger.' So, any way you look at it, race is coming on the back burner."

  - Lee Atwater 1981 interview as quoted anonymously by Alexander Lamis in *The Two-Party South*, (1984), as quoted by Rick Perlstein in "Exclusive: Lee Atwater's Infamous 1981 Interview on the Southern Strategy" (https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/exclusive-lee-atwaters-infamous-1981-interview-southern-strategy/), *The Nation*, (Nov 13, 2012)

B

- When we look at COVID-19, we know that the fissures of systemic racism and systemic poverty have actually allowed this pandemic to have a greater hold on our American society. We know that when we talk about death, we have to be exact, that it's not just people are dying, poor people are dying. People who make less than $50,000 a year are dying. People are dying who are among the poor, whether it be white, Black —disproportionately among Black and Brown and Indigenous people, and that COVID has killed more people in the U.S. than Americans were

killed in battle in five of our most recent wars — Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, the War in Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf War. I mean, this is what we're talking about when we're talking about this devastation that's happening among poor and low-wealth people.

  - Rev. William Barber II quoted in Rev. William Barber: Millions Are Struggling. So Why Do the Debates Ignore Poverty?, *DemocracyNow* (https://www.democracynow.org/2020/10/8/mike_pence_kamala_harris_vp_debate), (8 October 2020)

- Not only will Pence and Trump not acknowledge racism when it comes to police violence, they are not even acknowledging the disparate racism in economics and in healthcare, and so forth and so on. So, on the one hand, while Pence and — while Biden and Harris may not be every, fully where the Poor People's Campaign are, they are in the world of wanting to do more.

  - Rev. William Barber II quoted in Rev. William Barber: Millions Are Struggling. So Why Do the Debates Ignore Poverty?, *DemocracyNow* (https://www.democracynow.org/2020/10/8/mike_pence_kamala_harris_vp_debate), (8 October 2020)

- Identify yourself as Americans... I don't identify myself as white or a white American.

  - Glenn Beck, *Glenn Beck*, Fox News, 13 November 2009
  - "Beck: I don't identify as white, why do black people identify as black? (http://mediamatters.org/mmtv/200911130029)", *Media Matters for America*, 13 November 2009

- Racism is the independent variable, the enduring value in American politics and society.

  - Herman Belz, "Review Essay" (https://web.archive.org/web/20070621205516/http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jala/24.1/belz.html) (2004), *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, University of Illinois Press

- We have to refuse to live in a country where Black people going about a weekly grocery shopping can be gunned down by weapons of war deployed in a racist cause. We have to refuse to live in a country where fear and lies are packaged for power and for profit. We must all enlist in this great cause of America.

  - Joe Biden, "White Supremacy is a Poison" (22 May 2022)

- The advancement of minorities in the U.S. is not insignificant, but has not ended, let alone reversed, their circumstances. I acknowledge that things I have said as well as my actions have been harmful to people of color, people of Jewish descent, activists striving for opportunity and fairness for all, and others affected... I can't support a movement that tells me I can't be a friend to whomever I wish or that other people's races requires me to think about them in a certain way or be suspicious of their advancements... Minorities must have the ability to rise to positions of power, and many supposed 'race' issues are in fact issues of structural oppression, poor educational prospects, and limited opportunity. The differences I thought I observed didn't go nearly as deeply as I imagined. I believe we can move beyond the sort of mind-boggling emphasis white nationalism puts on maintaining an oppressive, exclusive sense of identity; oppressive for others and stifling for our society.

Corresponding to notions that all black men are potential rapists by nature are stereotypes of black women as amoral Jezebels who can never truly be raped, because "rape" implies the invasion of a personal space of modesty and reserve that the black woman has not been imagined as having. Corresponding to the popular sexual myth that black men are genitally over-endowed are notions, harking back to the early nineteenth century, that African women's sexual organs are more highly developed than (and configured differently from) those of European women, explaining (according to J.J. Virey's study of race) their greater "voluptuousness" and "lascivity." "Scientific" representations of the black woman's, like evolutionist's comparisons of the skull shapes of African males and organgutans, exaggerated (and often created) relations of similarity to animals, particularly monkeys. The "Hottentot Venus," a South African woman who was exhibited in London and Paris at the end

- Derek Black, letter to Mark Potok of *Hate Watch* (https://web.archive.org/web/20130810032924/http://www.splcenter.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Derek-Black-letter-to-Mark-Potok-Hatewtach.pdf) (15 July 2013).

- In the years after the Civil War and Reconstruction, the dynamics of race changed once again. Millions of new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, along with Asia, came to the United States. Many of the Europeans were Catholic or Jewish, spoke languages relatively foreign to American ears, and had festivals and rituals that seemed strange or frightening. Who was "white" became a prominent issue. At the same time, the United States formed its first overseas empire after the Spanish-American War. It now had to determine whether people in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and elsewhere could be full citizens. Nativist groups emerged that wanted to define who was "white" and who was a "citizen."

  - Edward J. Blum and Paul Harvey, "The Contested Color of Christ" (https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Contested-Color-of-Christ/134414), *Chronicle*, (SEPTEMBER 17, 2012).

- America is an exceptional nation in large part because we've aspired to rise above such prejudices and guarantee life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to everyone.

  - David Boaz, "Conservatives Against Trump" (http://www.nationalreview.com/article/430126/donald-trump-conservatives-oppose-nomination) (21 January 2016), *National Review*.

- For African American critics of Anita Hill-male and female-the situation was more complicated than this, of course. In the face of pervasive ideology that stereotypes black males as oversexed animals, many felt that to support Hill was to lend credence to racist mythologies. Some African American women, while believing Hill's charges, were furious at her for publicly exposing a black man as she did. Leaving aside the question of to what degree these criticisms were just (I discuss the Hill/Thomas hearings in more detail in "Feminism, Postmodernism, and Gender Skepticism"), what they seem to overlook (and what was certainly ignored by the white, male senators and in the media coverage of the hearings) is the fact that the racist ideology and imagery that construct non-European "races" as "primitive," "savage," sexually animalistic and indeed more "bodily" than the white "races" extends to black women as well as black men.

  - Susan Bordo, "Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body" (https://www.google.com/books/edition/Unbearable_Weight/yagwDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover), Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2003, pp.8-9

- Corresponding to notions that all black men are potential rapists by nature are stereotypes of black women as amoral Jezebels who can never truly be raped, because "rape" implies the invasion of a personal space of modesty and reserve that the black woman has not been imagined as having. Corresponding to the popular sexual myth that black men are genitally over-endowed are notions, harking back to the early nineteenth century, that African women's sexual organs are more highly developed than (and configured differently from) those of European women, explaining (according to J.J. Virey's study of race) their greater "voluptuousness" and "lascivity." "Scientific" representations of the black woman's, like evolutionist's comparisons of the skull shapes of African males and organgutans, exaggerated (and often created) relations of similarity to animals, particularly monkeys. The "Hottentot Venus," a South African woman who was exhibited in London and Paris at the end of the eighteenth century, was presented as a "living ethnographic specimen" of the animal-like nature of the black woman. Several commissioned portraits depict her with grotesquely disproportionate buttocks, as though she were in a permanent bodily state of "presenting" to the male.
  A "breeder" to the slave owner, often depicted in jungle scenes in contemporary advertisements (Figure 2), the black woman carries a triple

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America rejects bigotry. We reject every act of hatred... We are one country. Every immigrant can be fully and equally American because we're one country. Race and color should not divide us, because America is one country. ~ George W. Bush

burden of negative bodily associations. By virtue of her sex, she represents the temptations of the flesh and the source of man's moral downfall. By virtue of her race, she is instinctual animal, undeserving of privacy and undemanding of respect. She does not tease and then resist (as in the stereotype of the European temptress); she merely goes “into heat.” Hispanic women are often similarly depicted as instinctual animals. But the legacy of slavery has added an additional element to effacements of black women's humanity. For in slavery her body is not only treated as an animal body but is “property”, to be “taken” and used at will. Such a body is denied even the dignity accorded a wild animal; its status approaches that of mere matter, thing-hood.

  - Susan Bordo, “Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body” (https://www.google.com/books/edition/Unbearable_Weight/yagwDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover), Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2003, pp.9, 11

Any suggestion that a segregated past was acceptable or positive is offensive and it is wrong... Every day our nation was segregated was a day that America was unfaithful to our founding ideals. ~ George W. Bush

- Through a cynical and cunning strategy, Clarence Thomas was able to neutralize the damage that could have been done to this case by unconscious racist images of the black man as oversexed animal; by bringing attention to these images and making an issue of them, he engineered a situation in which any white senator who did “not” treat him with the utmost delicacy and respect would seem a racist. Anita Hill, by contrast, bore the weight of the unexamined (at the hearings) construction of the black woman as mere body, whose moral and emotional sensibilities need not be treated with consideration. In the context of this legacy, the cool detachment with which the senators interrogated Hill about penises and pornography, while apologizing profusely to Thomas for the mere mention of such subjects, resonated with the historical effacement of black women's subjectivity.

  - Susan Bordo, “Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body” (https://www.google.com/books/edition/Unbearable_Weight/yagwDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover), Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2003, p.11

Our country must abandon all the habits of racism because we cannot carry the message of freedom and the baggage of bigotry at the same time. ~ George W. Bush

- **The Confederate flag has come to represent nothing but racism.** “Southern heritage” is what some invoke in the attempt to justify an alleged affinity for antebellum ways, but let’s be honest: We all know what that flag means. That flag was the symbol of 11 states that left the union and fought against it, in large part so slavery could continue. The Civil War ended April 9, 1865. The South lost. The Emancipation Proclamation became the law of all states, those that had seceded included. One hundred forty-five years would figure to be long enough for these United States to re-unify, but the 20th century came and went, and for all its upheavals and struggles and apparent triumphs, the land of the free is still trying to come to grips with its composition.

  - Confederate flags and a noose: What century is this, anyway?, By Mark Bradley, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (https://www.ajc.com/blog/mark-bradley/confederate-flags-and-noose-what-century-this-anyway/zZ1xCpzku1AUasaQqW7S3I/) (22 June 2020)

- Rosa Parks declined to change her seat, also in Alabama, on Dec. 1, 1955. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his speech at the Lincoln Memorial on Aug. 28, 1963. The Civil Rights Act became law July 2, 1964. Barack Obama was elected president of these United States on Nov. 4, 2008. But here we are, in a year that has seen the deaths of Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, George Floyd and Rayshard Brooks, and sometimes it seems as if we’ve gone nowhere. How is that possible?

  - Confederate flags and a noose: What century is this, anyway?, By Mark Bradley, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (https://www.ajc.com/blo

g/mark-bradley/confederate-flags-and-noose-what-century-this-anyway/zZ1xCpzku1AUasaQqW7S3I/) (22 June 2020)

Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. ~ George W. Bush

- When they laid down their arms, we murdered them. We lied to them. We cheated them out of their lands. We starved them into signing fraudulent agreements that we called treaties which we never kept. We turned them into beggars on a continent that gave life for as long as life can remember. And by any interpretation of history, however twisted, we did not do right. We were not lawful nor were we just in what we did. For them, we do not have to restore these people, we do not have to live up to some agreements, because it is given to us by virtue of our power to attack the rights of others, to take their property, to take their lives when they are trying to defend their land and liberty, and to make their virtues a crime and our own vices virtues.
  - Marlon Brando speech for the Academy Awards protesting the treatment of American Indians, written by Brando, as it appeared in the *New York Times*,(March 30, 1973)
- The U.S. contains a highly diverse population, the product of numerous and sustained waves of immigration. Ethnic and racial diversity - the 'melting pot' - is celebrated as a core element of the American ideology. The 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawed racial and other discrimination.
  - British Broadcasting Corporation, "United States country profile: Overview" (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-16759230) (29 October 2015), *BBC News*, United Kingdom.
- An artist using statistics as a brush could paint two very different pictures of our country. One would have warning signs: increasing layoffs, rising energy prices, too many failing schools, persistent poverty, the stubborn vestiges of racism. Another picture would be full of blessings: a balanced budget, big surpluses, a military that is second to none, a country at peace with its neighbors, technology that is revolutionizing the world, and our greatest strength, concerned citizens who care for our country and care for each other... Too many of our citizens have cause to doubt our nation's justice when the law points a finger of suspicion at groups, instead of individuals. **All our citizens are created equal and must be treated equally**... End racial profiling. It is wrong, and we will end it in America. It is wrong.
  - George W. Bush, State of the Union address (27 February 2001).
- I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. **No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith**. Our nation, this generation, will lift the dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. **We will not tire, we will not falter and we will not fail.**
  - George W. Bush, address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People (20 September 2001).
- Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism.
  - George W. Bush, State of the Union Address (29 January 2002).
- America rejects bigotry. We reject every act of hatred... We are one country. Every immigrant can be fully and equally American because we're one country. Race and color should not divide us, because America is one country.
  - George W. Bush, speech at Parkside Hall (https://web.archive.org/web/20090923141443/http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/info

cus/ramadan/islam.html) (30 April 2002), San Jose, California.

- Any suggestion that a segregated past was acceptable or positive is offensive and it is wrong... Comments by Senator Lott do not reflect the spirit of our country. He has apologized and rightly so. Every day our nation was segregated was a day that America was unfaithful to our founding ideals, and the founding ideals of our nation, and in fact the founding ideals of the political party I represent, was and remains today the equal dignity and equal rights of every American.
  - George W. Bush, regarding comments made by Trent Lott (12 December 2002), as quoted in "Lott's Remarks on Segregation 'Wrong and Offensive'" (https://web.archive.org/web/20150921020713/http://www.irishtimes.com/news/lott-remarks-on-segregation-wrong-and-offensive-1.1107399) (13 December 2002), *The Irish Times*.

- Americans have upheld the ideals of America by exposing laws and habits contradicting those ideals... Americans share a belief in the values of liberty and dignity; we must share in the labor of advancing those values... **In the struggle of the centuries, America learned that freedom is not the possession of one race. We know with equal certainty that freedom is not the possession of one nation. This belief in the natural rights of man, this conviction that justice should reach wherever the sun passes, leads America into the world.** With the power and resources given to us, the United States seeks to bring peace where there is conflict, hope where there's suffering, and liberty where there's tyranny.
  - George W. Bush, *Hope and Conscience Will Not Be Silenced* (https://web.archive.org/web/20030810050737/http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/africa/07/08/bush.slavery.transcript/) (8 July 2003), speech at Goree Island, Senegal.

- Our country must abandon all the habits of racism because we cannot carry the message of freedom and the baggage of bigotry at the same time.
  - George W. Bush, Second Inaugural Address (http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4460172) (20 January 2005).

- Rapper Kanye West told a prime-time T.V. audience, 'George Bush doesn't care about black people'. Jesse Jackson later compared the New Orleans Convention Center to the 'hull of a slave ship'. A member of the Congressional Black Caucus claimed that if the storm victims had been 'white, middle-class Americans' they would have received more help. **Five years later, I can barely write those words without feeling disgusted. I am deeply insulted by the suggestion that we allowed American citizens to suffer because they were black.** As I told the press at the time, 'the storm didn't discriminate, and neither will we. When those coast guard choppers, many of whom were first on the scene, were pulling people off roofs, they didn't check the color of a person's skin'. **The more I thought about it, the angrier I felt. I was raised to believe that racism was one of the greatest evils in society**. I admired dad's courage when he defied near-universal opposition from his constituents to vote for the *Open Housing Bill of 1968*. I was proud to have earned more black votes than any Republican governor in Texas history. I had appointed African Americans to top government positions, including the first black woman national security adviser and the first two black secretaries of state. It broke my heart to see minority children shuffled through the school system, so I had based my signature domestic policy initiative, the *No Child Left Behind Act*, on ending the soft bigotry of low expectations. I had launched a $15 billion program to combat HIV/AIDS in Africa. As part of the response to Katrina, my administration worked with Congress to provided historically black colleges and universities in the Gulf Coast with more than $400 million in loans to restore their campuses and renew their recruiting efforts.
  - George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (November 2010), p. 325, Chapter 10: Katrina (https://books.google.com/books?id=iUJTvsUGWOcC&printsec=frontcover&dq=decision+points&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CBwQ6AEwAGoVChMImu6s8_WEyAIVjNkeCh1oFgyY#v=onepage&q=kanye&f=false).

- Our identity as a nation — unlike many other nations — is not determined by geography or ethnicity, by soil or blood. Being an American involves the embrace of high ideals and civic responsibility. We become the heirs of Thomas Jefferson by accepting the ideal of human dignity found in the Declaration of Independence. We become the heirs of James Madison by understanding the genius and values of the U.S.

Constitution. We become the heirs of Martin Luther King, Jr., by recognizing one another not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. This means that people of every race, religion, and ethnicity can be fully and equally American. It means that bigotry or white supremacy in any form is blasphemy against the American creed. And it means that the very identity of our nation depends on the passing of civic ideals to the next generation.

- George W. Bush, remarks at Bush Institute Summit, "The Spirit of Liberty: At Home, In The World" at the Bush Institute Summit in New York City (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S2YlVZxu_L0) (October 2017), as quoted in *The Washington Post* (http://archive.is/jl9AF#selection-2115.0-2135.112) (October 2017)

C

- "**O'Malley said flatly that winter he didn't want any more colored players on the team. It was complicated, but it was a combination of what he thought the fans would accept, what he thought the team could handle and the fact that he got heat from some of his partners who worried that the more integrated the Dodgers became, the more pressure they felt to hire blacks in their own businesses.**" Bavasi said that Jackie Robinson himself expressed misgivings about Clemente. [...] In the case of Clemente, Bavasi said that Robinson was concerned that if the Dodgers activated him, he would take the roster position of George "Shotgun" Shuba – a journeyman outfielder and pinch-hitter who was popular, white, and once Robinson's 1946 teammate on the Montreal Royals.
  - Buzzie Bavasi, on why Brooklyn opted not to keep Clemente on its 1954 major league roster (leading to his acquisition by the Pittsburgh Pirates at the 1954 Winter Meetings), as quoted and paraphrased in "Gil, Jackie, Pee Wee, and a Parable of Race" (https://books.google.com/books?id=TbtHwEDMv6kC&pg=PA59) from *Praying for Gil Hodges: A Memoir of the 1955 World Series and One Family's Love of the Brooklyn Dodgers* (July 1, 2005) by Thomas Oliphant, p. 59

We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.
~ *Civil Rights Act of 1875*

- In the first place, an unjust law exists in this Commonwealth, by which marriages between persons of different color is pronounced illegal. I am perfectly aware of the gross ridicule to which I may subject myself by alluding to this particular; but I have lived too long, and observed too much, to be disturbed by the world's mockery. In the first place, the government ought not to be invested with power to control the affections, any more than the consciences of citizens. **A man has at least as good a right to choose his wife, as he has to choose his religion. His taste may not suit his neighbors; but so long as his deportment is correct, they have no right to interfere with his concerns.**
  - Lydia Maria Child, *An Appeal on Behalf of That Class of Americans* (http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/abolitn/abeslmca5t.html) (1833).
- **We should recognize that white male supremacy is a deep current in American history.** It's not gonna go away immediately. But there have been dents, significant ones. So for example, even in the mainstream, when the *New York Times* ran the 1619 Project, it couldn't have happened a couple of years earlier. And it's because of changes in general consciousness and awareness. Of course, there was an immediate backlash, strong backlash, and you're gonna expect that, white male supremacy is a deep part of American history and culture. To extirpate it is not gonna be easy. And, but there are, there's very significant progress. Plenty of conflict coming. It's not gonna be an easy struggle.
  - Noam Chomsky, AOC & Noam Chomsky: The Way Forward + transcript (https://lauraflanders.org/2021/10/aoc-noam-chomsky/) October 28, 2021

- The Black offender is not tried and judged by the Black community itself but by the machinery of the white community, ... whose interests are served by the systematic subjugation of all Black people. Thus, the trial or conviction of a Black prisoner regardless of his offense, his guilt or his innocence, cannot be a democratic judgment of him by his peers, but a political action against him by his oppressors.
  - Robert Chrisman, "Black Prisoner, White Law," *The Black Scholar*, April-May 1971, p. 46, as cited in *The Death of White Sociology*, p. 171
- It is essential to just government we recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.
  - *Civil Rights Act of 1875*.
- If a man like Malcolm X could change and repudiate racism, if I myself and other former Muslims can change, if young whites can change, then **there is hope for America.**
  - Eldridge Cleaver, as quoted in *Soul on Ice* (1968), Part II: "The White Race and Its Heroes".
- Som' co-lored people I understand saying "Clemente, he do not like co-lored people." This is not the truth at all. Look at me. Look at my skin. I am not of the white people. I hav' color the skin. That is the first theeing I straighten out. I like all the people, both co-lored and white; and since I am co-lored myself, I would be seely hate myself. Thees' people tell me I don't like colored people. Well, I use this time to tell deeferent. I like myself, so I also like the people who are like me.
  - Roberto Clemente, as quoted by Bill Nunn, Jr. in the New Pittsburgh Courier (June 25, 1960); reproduced in *Clemente: The Passion and Grace of Baseball's Last Hero"* (https://books.google.com/books?id=jIhcvFs-k1cC&pg=PA97&dq=%22Som'+co-lored+people%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CBsQ6AEwAWoVChMIz8mAyM6gyAIVBqw-Ch2nfweY#v=onepage&q=%22Som'%20co-lored%20people%22&f=false) *(2006) by David Maraniss, p. 97*

Our Constitution guarantees equal rights to all our citizens, without discrimination on account of race or color. I have taken my oath to support that Constitution. It is the source of your rights and my rights. I propose to regard it, and administer it, as the source of the rights of all the people, whatever their belief or race. ~ Calvin Coolidge

- In Canada they no have much segregation. But one day I am signing autographs and talking to white man and his wife outside park, and this other man say, "You not supposed to talk to white woman." I say, "No, I talk to the one I want. I talk to my friends. You believe in that stuff if you want. I don't do it."
  - Roberto Clemente, as quoted in "The Man in the Pirate Uniform: Clemente is Spectacular" (https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=zcxRAAAAIBAJ&sjid=NGwDAAAAIBAJ&pg=7274%2C5131234) by Myron Cope, in *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (Tuesday, August 23, 1960), p. 29
- The first thing the average white Latin American player does when he comes to the States is associate with other whites. He doesn't want to be seen with Latin Negroes, even from his own country, because he's afraid people might think he's colored.
  - Roberto Clemente, as quoted in "Roberto Clemente: Man of Paradox" by Arnold Hano, in *Sport* (May 1965)
- When I came here, you seldom saw a black player get together with a white player and go someplace together after a ball game. Now it is more common. Yes, there has been improvement but some things still remain the way they were. I cannot, for example, go up to a white player

and say to him, "Are you for real?" or "Are you concerned with me at all?" But now, once in a while, they will come to you and ask you about it. They don't turn their backs on you like they used to.

  - Roberto Clemente, as quoted in "Sports Parade" (https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=OkAaAAAAIBAJ&sjid=mSQEAAAAIBAJ&pg=6377%2C3858585) by Milton Richman, in *The Hendersonville Times-News* (Wednesday, April 21, 1971), p. 9

- My greatest satisfaction comes from helping to erase the old opinion about Latin American and black ballplayers. People had the wrong opinion. They never questioned our ability but they considered us inferior in our station of life. Simply because many of us were poor, we were thought to be low class. Even our integrity was questioned. I don't blame the fans for that; I blame the writers. They made it look like we were something different entirely from the white players. We're not. We're the same.
  - Roberto Clemente, as quoted in ""Sports Parade" (https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=OkAaAAAAIBAJ&sjid=mSQEAAAAIBAJ&pg=6377%2C3858585)

- White racism in America ... is a part of the spirit of the age, the ethos of the culture, so embedded in the social, economic, and political structure that white society is incapable of knowing its destructive nature.
  - James Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (1969), p. 41

The propaganda of prejudice and hatred which sought to keep the colored men from supporting the national cause completely failed. The black man showed himself the same kind of citizen, moved by the same kind of patriotism, as the white man... Not one betrayed his country. ~ Calvin Coolidge

- Washington made it clear that a person did not have to be of a certain religion or have a particular ethnic background to be an American patriot.
  - Craig Considine, *Saluting Muslim American Patriots* (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/craig-considine/the-difference-between-an_1_b_8257506.html).

- **Numbered among our population are some 12,000,000 colored people. Under our Constitution their rights are just as sacred as those of any other citizen. It is both a public and a private duty to protect those rights.**
  - Calvin Coolidge, State of the Union Address (6 December 1923).

- The propaganda of prejudice and hatred which sought to keep the colored men from supporting the national cause completely failed. The black man showed himself the same kind of citizen, moved by the same kind of patriotism, as the white man. **They were tempted, but not one betrayed his country.** Among well-nigh 400,000 colored men who were taken into the military service, about one-half had overseas experience. **They came home with many decorations and their conduct repeatedly won high commendation from both American and European commanders.**
  - Calvin Coolidge, commencement address at Howard University (https://archive.org/stream/foundationsofrep00unit/foundationsofrep00unit_djvu.txt) (6 June 1924), Washington, D.C.

- **During the war 500,000 colored men and boys were called up under the draft, not one of whom sought to evade it. They took their places wherever assigned in defense of the nation of which they are just as truly citizens as are any others.** The suggestion of denying any measure of their full political rights to such a great group of our population as the colored people is one which, however it might be received in some other quarters, could not possibly be permitted by one who feels a responsibility for living up to the traditions and maintaining the principles of the Republican Party. **Our Constitution guarantees equal rights to all our citizens, without discrimination on account of**

race or color. I have taken my oath to support that Constitution. It is the source of your rights and my rights. I propose to regard it, and administer it, as the source of the rights of all the people, whatever their belief or race.

  - Calvin Coolidge, letter to Charles F. Gardner (https://archive.org/stream/foundationsofrep00unit/foundationsofrep00unit_djvu.txt) (9 August 1924).

- **Yet in time of stress and public agitation we have too great a tendency to disregard this policy and indulge in race hatred, religious intolerance, and disregard of equal rights. Such sentiments are bound to react upon those who harbor them. Instead of being a benefit they are a positive injury.** We do not have to examine history very far before we see whole countries that have been blighted, whole civilizations that have been shattered by a spirit of intolerance. They are destructive of order and progress at home and a danger to peace and good will abroad. No better example exists of toleration than that which is exhibited by those who wore the blue toward those who wore the gray. Our condition today is not merely that of one people under one flag, but of a thoroughly united people who have seen bitterness and enmity which once threatened to sever them pass away, and a spirit of kindness and good will reign over them all.

  - Calvin Coolidge, "Ways to Peace" (https://archive.org/stream/foundationsofrep00unit/foundationsofrep00unit_djvu.txt), speech at Arlington (31 May 1926).

- Let it never be forgotten that the cause of the United States is the cause of human nature, not of white men nor black men nor red men nor brown men, but of man, of mankind.

  - George William Curtis, "The Present Aspect of the Slavery Question" (https://archive.org/details/orationsandaddr03curtgoog) (18 October 1859), New York City.

- **The United States was made by men of all races and colors, not for white men, but for the refuge and defense of *man*. If it does not rest upon the natural rights of man, it rests nowhere**. If it does not exist by the consent of governed then any exclusion is possible, and it is a shorter step from an exclusive white man's government to an exclusively *rich* white man's government, than it is from a system for mankind to one for white men. The spirit which excludes some men today because they are of a certain color, may exclude others tomorrow because they are of a certain poverty or a certain church or a certain birthplace. **There is no safety, no guarantee, no security in a prejudice**. If we build strong and long, we must build upon moral principle... **The truest American president we have ever had, the companion of Washington in our love and honor, recognized that the poorest man, however outraged, however ignorant, however despised, however black, was, as a man, his equal**... Manhood in America is to be measured **not by the color of the skin, but by the quality of the soul**.

  - George William Curtis, "The Good Fight" (https://archive.org/details/orationsandaddr03curtgoog) (1865).

- As to the doctrine of slavery and the right of Christians to hold Africans in perpetual servitude, and sell and treat them as we do our horses and cattle, that, it is true, has been heretofore countenanced by the Province Laws formerly, but nowhere is it expressly enacted or established. It has been a usage–a usage which took its origin from the practice of some of the European nations, and the regulations of

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The United States was made by men of all races and colors, not for white men, but for the refuge and defense of *man*. If it does not rest upon the natural rights of man, it rests nowhere. ~ George William Curtis

British government respecting the then-colonies, for the benefit of trade and wealth. But whatever sentiments have formerly prevailed in this particular or slid in upon us by the example of others, **a different idea has taken place with the people of America, more favorable to the natural rights of mankind, and to that natural, innate desire of liberty, with which Heaven, without regard to color, complexion, or shape of noses-features, has inspired all the human race. And upon this ground our constitution** of government, by which the people of this Commonwealth have solemnly bound themselves, sets out with declaring that all men are born free and equal, and that every subject is entitled to liberty, and to have it guarded by the laws, as well as life and property–and in short is totally repugnant to the idea of being born slaves. This being the case, I think the idea of slavery is inconsistent with our own conduct and constitution; and there can be no such thing as perpetual servitude of a rational creature, unless his liberty is forfeited by some criminal conduct or given up by personal consent or contract.

- William Cushing, *Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Jennison* (https://web.archive.org/web/20040128112051/http://www.slavenorth.com/massemancip.htm) (1783).

A different idea has taken place with the people of America, more favorable to the natural rights of mankind, and to that natural, innate desire of liberty, with which Heaven, without regard to color, complexion, or shape of noses-features, has inspired all the human race. And upon this ground our constitution. ~ William Cushing

D

- Political repression in the United States has reached monstrous proportions. Black and Brown peoples especially, victims of the most vicious and calculated forms of class, national and racial oppression, bear the brunt of this repression. Literally tens of thousands of innocent men and women, the overwhelming majority of them poor, fill the jails and prisons.
  - Angela Davis, *If They Come in The Morning* (1971)
- The colonization of the Southern economy by capitalists from the North gave lynching its most vigorous impulse. If Black people, by means of terror and violence, could remain the most brutally exploited group within the swelling ranks of the working class, the capitalists could enjoy a double advantage. Extra profits would result from the superexploitation of Black labor, and white workers' hostilities toward their employers would be defused. White workers who assented to lynching necessarily assumed a posture of racial solidarity with the white men who were really their oppressors. This was a critical moment in the popularization of racist ideology.
  - Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (1983)
- That there have been in all ages and in all countries, in every quarter of the habitable globe, especially among those nations laying the greatest claim to civilization and enlightenment, classes of people who have been deprived of equal privileges, political, religious and social, cannot be denied, and that this deprivation on the part of the ruling classes is cruel and unjust, is also equally true. Such classes have even been looked upon as inferior to their oppressors, and have ever been mainly the domestics and menials of society, doing the low offices and drudgery of those among whom they lived, moving about and existing by mere sufferance, having no rights nor privileges but those conceded by the common consent of their political superiors. These are historical facts that cannot be controverted.
  - Martin Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (1852), Chapter 1
- Wherever there is arbitrary rule, there must be necessity, on the part of the dominant classes, superiority be assumed. To assume superiority, is to deny the equality of others.

- Martin Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (1852), Chapter 1

- During Wednesday's debate, Vice President Mike Pence refused to commit to a peaceful transition of power if Biden wins the election. Instead, he referenced the Trump administration's legal efforts to restrict mail-in voting. Rev. William Barber says the Republican Party's voter suppression efforts ahead of the November election, aimed primarily at Black and Brown voters, amount to "surgical racism with surgical precision."

  - Democracy Now! in Rev. William Barber on Voter Suppression: Republicans Know They Can't Win If Everyone Casts a Ballot' (https://www.democracynow.org/2020/10/8/rev_william_barber_voting_2020), *Democracy Now!*, (8 October 2020)

- This really made 'em go bananas in the Code czar's office. 'Judge Murphy was off his nut. He was really out to get us', recalls [EC editor] Feldstein. 'I went in there with this story and Murphy says, "It can't be a Black man". But ... but that's the whole point of the story!' Feldstein sputtered. When Murphy continued to insist that the Black man had to go, Feldstein put it on the line. 'Listen', he told Murphy, 'you've been riding us and making it impossible to put out anything at all because you guys just want us out of business'. [Feldstein] reported the results of his audience with the czar to Gaines, who was furious [and] immediately picked up the phone and called Murphy. 'This is ridiculous!' he bellowed. 'I'm going to call a press conference on this. You have no grounds, no basis, to do this. I'll sue you'. Murphy made what he surely thought was a gracious concession. 'All right. Just take off the beads of sweat'. At that, Gaines and Feldstein both went ballistic. 'Fuck you!' they shouted into the telephone in unison. Murphy hung up on them, but the story ran in its original form.

  - Diehl, Digby. "Tales from the Crypt: The Official Archives" (St. Martin's Press, New York, NY 1996) p.95

Political repression in the United States has reached monstrous proportions. Black and Brown peoples especially, victims of the most vicious and calculated forms of class, national and racial oppression, bear the brunt of this repression. Literally tens of thousands of innocent men and women, the overwhelming majority of them poor, fill the jails and prisons. ~ Angela Davis

- **We deem it a settled point that the destiny of the colored man is bound up with that of the white people of this country. … *We are here*, and here we are likely to be.** To imagine that we shall ever be eradicated is absurd and ridiculous. **We can be remodified, changed, assimilated, but never extinguished.** We repeat, therefore, that we are *here*; and that this is *our* country; and the question for the philosophers and statesmen of the land ought to be, What principles should dictate the policy of the action toward us? **We shall neither die out, nor be driven out; but shall go with this people, either as a testimony against them, or as an evidence in their favor throughout their generations.**

  - Frederick Douglass, essay in *North Star* (November 1858); as quoted in *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (1992) by Derrick Bell, p. 40.

- **The Constitution itself. Its language is 'we the people'. Not we the white people, not even we the citizens, not we the privileged class, not we the high, not we the low, but we the people. Not we the horses, sheep, and swine, and wheel-barrows, but we the people, we the human inhabitants. If Negroes are people, they are included in the benefits for which the Constitution of America was ordained and established**. But how dare any man who pretends to be a friend to the Negro thus gratuitously concede away what the Negro has a right to claim under the Constitution?

  - Frederick Douglass, "The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?" (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-constitution-of-the-united-states-is-it-pro-slavery-or-anti-slavery/) (26 March 1860), Glasgow, United Kingdom.

- There is something too mean in looking upon the Negro, when you are in trouble, as a citizen, and when you are free from trouble, as an alien. When this nation was in trouble, in its early struggles, it looked upon the Negro as a citizen. In 1776 he was a citizen. At the time of the formation of the Constitution the Negro had the right to vote in eleven States out of the old thirteen. In your trouble you have made us citizens. In 1812 General Jackson addressed us as citizens; 'fellow-citizens'. He wanted us to fight. We were citizens then! And now, when you come to frame a conscription bill, the Negro is a citizen again. He has been a citizen just three times in the history of this government, and it has always been in time of trouble. In time of trouble we are citizens. Shall we be citizens in war, and aliens in peace? Would that be just?
    - Frederick Douglass, "What the Black Man Wants" (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-the-black-man-wants/), speech in Boston, Massachusetts (1865).
- **In regard to the colored people, there is always more that is benevolent, I perceive, than just, manifested towards us. What I ask for the negro is not benevolence, not pity, not sympathy, but simply *justice*.** The American people have always been anxious to know what they shall do with us... I have had but one answer from the beginning. Do nothing with us! Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us. Do nothing with us! If the apples will not remain on the tree of their own strength, if they are worm-eaten at the core, if they are early ripe and disposed to fall, let them fall! … And if the negro cannot stand on his own legs, let him fall also. All I ask is, give him a chance to stand on his own legs! Let him alone! If you see him on his way to school, let him alone, don't disturb him! If you see him going to the dinner table at a hotel, let him go! If you see him going to the ballot box, let him alone, don't disturb him! If you see him going into a work-shop, just let him alone, — your interference is doing him positive injury.
    - Frederick Douglass, "What the Black Man Wants" (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-the-black-man-wants/), speech in Boston, Massachusetts (1865).

The Constitution itself. Its language is 'we the people'. Not we the white people, not even we the citizens, not we the privileged class, not we the high, not we the low, but we the people. Not we the horses, sheep, and swine, and wheel-barrows, but we the people, we the human inhabitants. If Negroes are people, they are included in the benefits for which the Constitution of America was ordained. ~ Frederick Douglass

- Races and varieties of the human family appear and disappear, but humanity remains and will remain forever. The American people will one day be truer to this idea than now, and will say with Scotia's inspired son, "A man's a man for a' that." When that day shall come, they will not pervert and sin against the verity of language as they now do by calling a man of mixed blood, a negro; they will tell the truth.
    - Frederick Douglass, "The Future of the Colored Race" (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-future-of-the-colored-race/) (May 1886).
- I am especially to speak to you of **the character and mission of the United States, with special reference to the question whether we are the better or the worse for being composed of different races of men. I propose to consider first, what we are, second, what we are likely to be, and, thirdly, what we ought to be. Without undue vanity or unjust depreciation of others, we may claim to be, in many respects, the most fortunate of nations. We stand in relations to all others, as youth to age. Other nations have had their day of greatness and glory; we are yet to have our day, and that day is coming. The dawn is already upon us. It is bright and full of promise. Other nations have reached their culminating point. We are at the beginning of our ascent**. They have apparently exhausted the conditions essential to their further growth and extension, while we are abundant in all the material essential to further national growth and greatness. The resources of European statesmanship are now sorely taxed to maintain their nationalities at their ancient height of greatness and power. **American statesmanship, worthy of the name, is now taxing its energies to frame measures to meet the demands of constantly increasing expansion of power, responsibility and duty. Without fault or merit on either side, theirs or ours, the balance is**

largely in our favor. Like the grand old forests, renewed and enriched from decaying trunks once full of life and beauty, but now moss-covered, oozy and crumbling, we are destined to grow and flourish while they decline and fade.

  - Frederick Douglass, *Our Composite Nationality* (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/our-composite-nationality/) (7 December 1869), Boston, Massachusetts.

- We have for a long time hesitated to adopt and carry out **the only principle which can solve that difficulty and give peace, strength and security to the republic, and that is the principle of absolute equality. We are a country of all extremes, ends and opposites. The most conspicuous example of composite nationality in the world.** Our people defy all the ethnological and logical classifications. In races we range all the way from black to white, with intermediate shades which, as in the apocalyptic vision, no man can name or number... America is no longer an obscure and inaccessible country. Our ships are in every sea, our commerce is in every port, our language is heard all around the globe, steam and lightning have revolutionized the whole domain of human thought, changed all geographical relations, make a day of the present seem equal to a thousand years of the past, and the continent that Columbus only conjectured four centuries ago is now the center of the world... **A liberal and brotherly welcome to all who are likely to come to the United States is the only wise policy which this nation can adopt**. It has been thoughtfully observed that every nation, owing to its peculiar character and composition, has a definite mission in the world. What that mission is, and what policy is best adapted to assist in its fulfillment, is the business of its people and its statesmen to know, and knowing, to make a noble use of this knowledge. **I need not stop here to name or describe the missions of other or more ancient nationalities. Our seems plain and unmistakable. Our geographical position, our relation to the outside world, our fundamental principles of government, world-embracing in their scope and character, our vast resources, requiring all manner of labor to develop them, and our already existing composite population, all conspire to one grand end**, and that is, to make us the perfect national illustration of the unity and dignity of the human family that the world has ever seen.

  - Frederick Douglass, *Our Composite Nationality* (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/our-composite-nationality/) (7 December 1869), Boston, Massachusetts.

- **In whatever else other nations may have been great and grand, our greatness and grandeur will be found in the faithful application of the principle of perfect civil equality to the people of all races and of all creeds. We are not only bound to this position by our organic structure and by our revolutionary antecedents, but by the genius of our people**. Gathered here from all quarters of the globe, by a common aspiration for national liberty as against caste, divine right govern and privileged classes, it would be unwise to be found fighting against ourselves and among ourselves, it would be unadvised to attempt to set up any one race above another, or one religion above another, or prescribe any on account of race, color or creed.

  - Frederick Douglass, *Our Composite Nationality* (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/our-composite-nationality/) (7 December 1869), Boston, Massachusetts.

- All great qualities are never found in any one man or in any one race. The whole of humanity, like the whole of everything else, is ever greater than a part. Men only know themselves by knowing others, and contact is essential to this knowledge. In one race we perceive the predominance of imagination; in another, like the Chinese, we remark its almost total absence. In one people we have the reasoning faculty; in

What I ask for the negro is not benevolence, not pity, not sympathy, but simply *justice*... Do nothing with us! Your oing with us has already played the mischief with us... If the negro cannot stand on his own legs, let him fall... All I ask is, give him a chance to stand on his own legs! Let him alone... Just let him alone... Your interference is doing him positive injury... Let him fall if he cannot stand alone! If the Negro cannot live by the line of eternal justice, so beautifully pictured to you... the fault will not be yours, it will be his... Let him live or die by that. If you will only untie his hands, and give him a chance, I think he will live. ~ Frederick Douglass

another the genius for music; in another exists courage, in another great physical vigor, and so on through the whole list of human qualities. All are needed to temper, modify, round and complete the whole man and the whole nation. Not the least among the arguments whose consideration should dispose us to welcome among us the peoples of all countries, nationalities and colors, is the fact that all races and varieties of men are improvable. This is the grand distinguishing attribute of humanity, and separates man from all other animals. If it could be shown that any particular race of men are literally incapable of improvement, we might hesitate to welcome them here. But no such men are any where to be found, and if they were, it is not likely that they would ever trouble us with their presence. The fact that the Chinese and other nations desire to come and do come is a proof of their capacity for improvement and of their fitness to come.

  - Frederick Douglass, *Our Composite Nationality* (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/our-composite-nationality/) (7 December 1869), Boston, Massachusetts.

- When the architect intends a grand structure, he makes the foundation broad and strong. We should imitate this prudence in laying the foundations of the future republic. There is a law of harmony in all departments of nature. The oak is in the acorn. The career and destiny of individual men are enfolded in the elements of which they are composed. The same is true of a nation. It will be something or it will be nothing. It will be great, or it will be small, according to its own essential qualities. As these are rich and varied, or pure and simple, slender and feeble, broad and strong, so will be the life and destiny of the nation itself. The stream cannot rise higher than its source. The ship cannot sail faster than the wind. The flight of the arrow depends upon the strength and elasticity of the bow, and as with these, so with a nation... If we would reach a degree of civilization higher and grander than any yet attained, **we should welcome to our ample continent all the nations, kindreds, tongues and peoples, and as fast as they learn our language and comprehend the duties of citizenship, we should incorporate them into the American body politic. The outspread wings of the American eagle are broad enough to shelter all who are likely to come**. As a matter of selfish policy, leaving right and humanity out of the question, we cannot wisely pursue any other course. Other governments mainly depend for security upon the sword; ours depends mainly upon the friendship of the people. In all matters, in time of peace, in time of war, and at all times, it makes its appeal to the people, and to all classes of the people. Its strength lies in their friendship and cheerful support in every time of need, and that policy is a mad one which would reduce the number of its friends by excluding those who would come, or by alienating those who are already here.

  - Frederick Douglass, *Our Composite Nationality* (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/our-composite-nationality/) (7 December 1869), Boston, Massachusetts.

- Our republic is itself a strong argument in favor of composite nationality. It is no disparagement to the Americans of English descent to affirm that much of the wealth, leisure, culture, refinement and civilization of the country are due to the arm of the negro and the muscle of the Irishman. Without these, and the wealth created by their sturdy toil, English civilization had still lingered this side of the Alleghanies, and the wolf still be howling on their summits. To no class of our population are we more indebted for valuable qualities of head, heart, and hand, than to the German. Say what we will of their lager, their smoke, and their metaphysics, they have brought to us a fresh, vigorous and child-like nature; a boundless facility in the acquisition of knowledge; a subtle and far-reaching intellect, and a fearless love of truth. Though remarkable for patient and laborious thought, the true German is a joyous child of freedom, fond of manly sports, a lover of music, and a happy man generally. Though he never forgets that he is a German, he never fails to remember that he is an American... We shall spread the network of our science and our civilization over all who seek their shelter, whether from Asia, Africa, or the isles of the sea. **We shall mold them all, each after his kind, into Americans**. Indian and Celt, Negro and Saxon, Latin and Teuton, Mongolian and Caucasian, Jew and gentile, all shall here bow to the same law, speak the same language, support the same government, enjoy the same liberty, vibrate with the same national enthusiasm, and seek the same national ends.

  - Frederick Douglass, *Our Composite Nationality* (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/our-composite-nationality/) (7 December 1869), Boston, Massachusetts.

- It was once said by Abraham Lincoln that this Republic could not long endure half slave and half free; and the same may be said with even more truth of the black citizens of this country. They cannot remain half slave and half free. They must be one thing or the other. And this brings me to consider the alternative now presented between slavery and freedom in this country. From my outlook, I am free to affirm that I see nothing for the negro of the South but a condition of absolute freedom, or of absolute slavery. I see no half-way place for him. One or the other of these conditions is to solve the so-called negro problem. There are forces at work in both of these directions, and for the present that which aims at the re-enslavement of the negro seems to have the advantage. Let it be remembered that the labor of the negro is his only capital. Take this from him, and he dies from starvation. The present mode of obtaining his labor in the South gives the old master-class a complete mastery over him. I showed this in my last annual celebration address, and I need not go into it here. The payment of the negro by orders on stores, where the storekeeper controls price, quality, and quantity, and is subject to no competition, so that the negro must buy there and nowhere else–an arrangement by which the negro never has a dollar to lay by, and can be kept in debt to his employer, year in and year out–puts him completely at the mercy of the old master-class. He who could say to the negro, when a slave, you shall work for me or be whipped to death, can now say to him with equal emphasis, you shall work for me, or I will starve you to death… This is the plain, matter-of-fact, and unexaggerated condition of the plantation negro in the Southern States today.
    - Frederick Douglass, "The Nation's Problem" (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-nations-problem/) (September 1890).
- There is no conceivable reason why all colored people should not be treated according to the merits of each individual. It is not only the plain duty, but also the interest of us all, to have every colored man take the place for which he is best fitted by education, character, ability, manners, and culture. If others insist on keeping him in any lower and poorer place, it is not only his injury, but our universal loss. Yet which of our white congregations would take a colored pastor? How many of our New England villages would like to have colored postmasters, or doctors, or lawyers, or teachers in the public schools? A very slight difference in complexion suffices to keep a young man from getting a place as policeman, or fireman, or conductor, even on the horse cars. The trades-unions are closed against him, and so are many of our stores; while those which admit him are obliged to refuse him promotion on account of the unwillingness of white men to serve under him.
    - Frederick Douglass, "The Nation's Problem" (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-nations-problem/) (September 1890).
- There is no race problem before the country, but only a political one, the question whether a Republican has any right to exist south of Mason and Dixon's line... I am just as white myself as I am black; and I am not afraid of the negro getting the upper hand in me... If you build the negro a church on every hill, and a schoolhouse in every valley, and endow them all for a hundred years, you will not make up for the wrongs you have done him. Who is it that asks for protection at the polls and for equal education? The men who came forth to clutch with iron fingers your faltering flag, and shed their blood for you, who protected the women and children of the South during the war, who have tilled your soil with their horny hands, and watered it with their tears!
    - Frederick Douglass, speech at "The Nation's Problem" (http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-nations-problem/) (September 1890).
- The attitude of the white laborer toward colored folk is largely a matter of long continued propaganda and gossip. The white laborers can read and write, but beyond this their education and experience are limited and they live in a world of color prejudice. The curious, most childish propaganda dominates us, by which good, earnest, even intelligent men have come by millions to believe almost religiously that white folk are a peculiar and chosen people whose one great accomplishment is civilization and that civilization must be protected from the rest of the world by cheating, stealing, lying, and murder. The propaganda, the terrible, ceaseless propaganda that buttresses this belief day by day,—the propaganda of poet and novelist, the uncanny welter of romance, the half knowledge of scientists, the pseudo-science of statesmen,—all these, united in the myth of mass inferiority of most men, have built a wall which many centuries will not break down. Born into such a spiritual world, the average white worker is absolutely at the mercy of its beliefs and prejudices. Color hate easily assumes the form of a religion and the laborer becomes the blind executive of the decrees of the masters of the white world; he votes armies and navies for "punitive" expeditions; he sends his sons as soldiers and sailors; he composes the Negro-hating mob, demands Japanese exclusion and lynches untried

prisoners. What hope is there that such a mass of dimly thinking and misled men will ever demand universal democracy for all men? [By excluding black workers from the benefits of the labor movement white workers are] hindering the natural flow of labor toward the highest wage and the best conditions in the world that white labor is segregating colored labor in just those parts of the world where it can be most easily exploited by white capital and thus giving white capital the power to rule all labor, white and black, in the rest of the world.

- W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Negro Mind Reaches Out” (https://archive.org/details/newnegrointerpre00unse/page/413/mode/1up), in Alain LeRoy Locke, editor, *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (1925)

E

- The ability of the United States to go from legal segregation a half century ago to the election of a black president suggests **there is enormous elasticity in the American political system, and that the country has the capacity to deal with what it now faces**, both inside and outside its borders.
  - Thomas Edsall, "How Much Does Race Still Matter?" (https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/02/27/how-much-does-race-still-matter/?_r=0) (27 February 2013), *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C.
- **We are a people born of many peoples. Our culture, our skills, our very aspirations have been shaped by immigrants, and their sons and daughters, from all the Earth.** Sam Gompers from England, Andrew Carnegie from Scotland, Albert Einstein from Germany, and Booker T. Washington and Al Smith, Marconi and Caruso. **Men of all nations and races and estates, they have made us what we are**... So it is that the laws most binding us as a people are laws of the spirit, proclaimed in church and synagogue and mosque. These are the laws that truly declare the eternal equality of all men, of all races, before the man-made laws of our land. And we are profoundly aware that, in the world, we can claim the trust of hundreds of millions of people, across Africa and Asia, only as we ourselves hold high the banner of justice for all.
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower, address at the Philadelphia Convention Hall (https://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/education/bsa/citizenship_merit_badge/speeches/address_convention_hall.pdf) (1 November 1956).
- **I believe that the United States as a government, if it is going to be true to its own founding documents, does have the job of working toward that time when there is no discrimination made on such inconsequential reason as race, color, or religion.**
  - Dwight D. Eisenhower, presidential news conference (https://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/all_about_ike/quotes.html#civilrights) (13 May 1959).

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F

- Thus, although slavery was abolished after the Civil War, the Southern states lost little time in erecting a system of segregation, in which prohibitions on intermarriage and intercourse played a central role. That said, the absence of formal prohibitions in the North by no means implied a toleration of interracial relationships. Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia

University, was highly unusual in recommending intermarriage (albeit only 'between white men and negro women') as a way of reducing racial tensions. Few shared his vision. Indeed, as Gunnar Myrdal noted in *An American Dilemma* (1944), racial anxieties appeared to increase when formal barriers between the races were removed. Mixed-race couples were generally ostracized by white society and, as long as the Supreme Court upheld the legality of state bans on mixed marriages, such couples remained a very small minority. American anxieties about racial mingling were only increased by the new waves of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, despite the fact that, at least in the first generation, the new immigrants practised quite strict endogamy. Yet it was not in the United States that the reaction against interracial marriage took its most extreme form. It was in Europe; most surprisingly, in Germany.

  - Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (2006), p. 24

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- BIPOC women, particularly Black women, are more likely to suffer miscarriages, which are generally indistinguishable from medically induced abortions. Combined with existing higher law enforcement surveillance rates of these communities, these factors mean that BIPOC women will face higher rates of privacy infringement. Additionally, low-income women face surveillance and privacy intrusions not only from the government as a result of receiving government benefits, but also from employers monitoring workplace conduct and performance. They also face financial barriers to protecting their privacy. As a result, the privacy of BIPOC, low-income, and otherwise marginalized women will be violated disproportionately.
  - Foley Hoag LLP on behalf of the Global Justice Center, Amnesty International USA, Human Rights Watch, National Birth Equity Collaborative, Physicians for Human Rights, Pregnancy Justice, "UN Special Procedures Letter US Abortion Rights" (https://www.globaljusticecenter.net/files/UNSpecialProceduresLetter_USAbortionRights.pdf), (March 2, 2023), p.23
- Communities marginalized by racial discrimination and oppression also face barriers in accessing healthcare, which severely and negatively impacts these communities. Indigenous Americans experience statistically worse healthcare outcomes than other populations in the US and already had difficulty accessing abortion long before Dobbs. The same is true for Black Americans, who have always faced high barriers to accessing healthcare. Hence, individuals who belong to more than one marginalized group, such as rural Black Americans, face especially high barriers. Access to abortion — and indeed to quality healthcare — has never been equitable for persons from marginalized communities in the US. Dobbs exacerbates many of these inequities by, for example, requiring individuals to travel farther for care and often out of state. Women of color are more likely to fall below the poverty line than white women and therefore feel the costs of interstate travel for healthcare particularly acutely. They are also less likely to have paid time off or paid sick leave to allow for travel, and face additional discrimination to obtain necessary healthcare.
  - Foley Hoag LLP on behalf of the Global Justice Center, Amnesty International USA, Human Rights Watch, National Birth Equity Collaborative, Physicians for Human Rights, Pregnancy Justice, "UN Special Procedures Letter US Abortion Rights" (https://www.globaljusticecenter.net/files/UNSpecialProceduresLetter_USAbortionRights.pdf), (March 2, 2023), p.27
- **Perry White**: Now you listen to me. I happen to love my country and what it stands for: equal rights and privileges for all Americans regardless of what church they choose to worship God in or what color skin God gave them. The United States was founded on that principle and we just fought a second world war to preserve it. You and others like you, with your diseased minds, want to tear down what we've built and fought to keep. But you can't do it. I'll fight you to my last breath and so will every other American worth his salt.

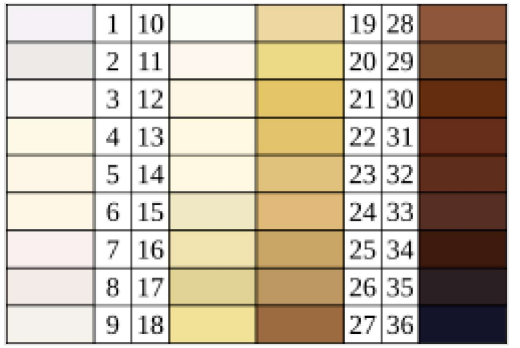
- Perry White as interpreted by Julian Noa in “Clan of the Fiery Cross” part 9, “The Adventures of Superman”, (June 20, 1946), written by B. P. Freeman and Jack Johnstone

- They appeared all to have made considerable progress in reading for the time they had respectively been in the school, and most of them answered readily and well the questions of the catechism. They behaved very orderly, and showed a proper respect and ready obedience to the mistress, and seemed very attentive to, and a good deal affected by, a serious exhoration with which Mister Sturgeon concluded our visit. **I was on the whole much pleased, and from what I then saw, have conceived a higher opinion of the natural capacities of the black race, than I had ever before entertained. Their apprehension seems as quick, their memory as strong, and their docility in every respect equal to that of white children.**

  - Benjamin Franklin, letter to Waring (17 December 1783), after visiting a school, as quoted in *The First American: The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (https://web.archive.org/web/20131118045451/http://www.home.nas.com/lopresti/bf.htm) (March 2002), by H.W. Brands, p. 355.

- The chances of an innocent black man being gunned down by racist cops are vanishingly small. And **that is good news indeed**... Black Americans will be taught to hate and fear law enforcement, fed on a steady diet of lies about their own country. America is a better place than they’ve been led to believe. Radical racial politics will only make it worse.

  - David A. French, "The Numbers Are in: Black Lives Matter Is Wrong about Police" (http://www.nationalreview.com/article/429094/black-lives-matter-wrong-police-shootings) (29 December 2015), *National Review*.



Perry White: Now you listen to me. I happen to love my country and what it stands for: equal rights and privileges for all Americans regardless of what church they choose to worship God in or what color skin God gave them. The United States was founded on that principle and we just fought a second world war to preserve it. You and others like you, with your diseased minds, want to tear down what we’ve built and fought to keep. But you can’t do it. I’ll fight you to my last breath and so will every other American worth his salt. ~ B. P. Freeman and Jack Johnstone

G

- According to the Women in The Workplace 2018 survey, women of color are not only significantly underrepresented, they are far less likely than others to be promoted to manager, more likely to face everyday discrimination and less likely to receive support from their managers. The researchers surveyed 279 companies employing more than 13 million people and talked to 64,000 employees on their workplace experiences. More than 90 percent of the companies polled said prioritizing gender and racial diversity leads to better business results. Yet only 42 percent of employees surveyed said they see gender diversity as a company priority and only 22 percent see racial diversity as a company priority.

  - Leslie Hunter-Gadsden “Report: Black women less likely to be promoted, supported by their managers” (https://www.pbs.org/newshour/economy/report-black-women-less-likely-to-be-promoted-supported-by-their-managers), *PBS News Hour*, (Nov 12, 2018).

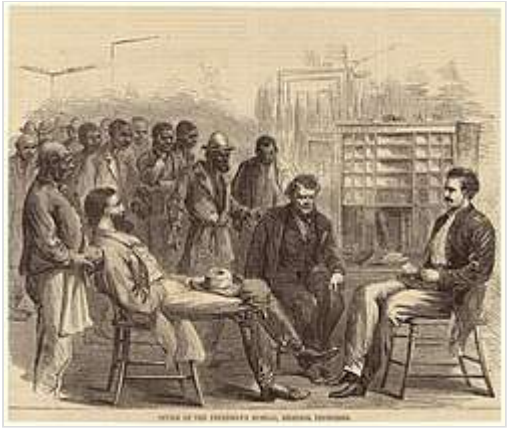
- **RINGGENBERG**: Let's jump ahead a little bit, to the *New Direction* comics. In Impact #4 you had a story called "The Lonely One", which was about prejudice against Jews. The Jewish in the story had a very bland name. It was "Miller".

  GAINES: Oh, well, that's very probably the Code at work. I'll tell you an even funnier one. In *Psychoanalysis* we had a guy, who, one of whose problems was that he was Jewish. This was giving him problems. And we were not allowed to say he was Jewish. And we had to take all reference to the fact that he was Jewish, thereby the entire story made no sense at all, because it was a story about a man with a Jewish problem and we're not allowed to say he was Jewish. This was the Code.
  RINGGENBERG: So you weren't allowed any kind of depictions of different ethnic backgrounds?

GAINES: Not allowed to call any attention to it.

- William Gaines in "WILLIAM M. GAINES INTERVIEW II" (http://www.comic-art.com/intervws/gaines11.htm), by Steve Ringgenberg, *Gauntlet Magazine*, (June, 1991)

- We do not even inquire whether a black man is a rebel in arms or not; if he is black, be he friend or foe, he is thought best kept at a distance. **It is hardly possible God will let us succeed while such enormities are 'practiced.**
  - James A. Garfield, regarding slavery (1862), as quoted in *Garfield: A Biography* (1978), by Allan Peskin, p. 145.



Let us not commit ourselves to the absurd and senseless dogma that the color of the skin shall be the basis of suffrage, the talisman of liberty. ~ James A. Garfield

- **Let us not commit ourselves to the absurd and senseless dogma that the color of the skin shall be the basis of suffrage, the talisman of liberty**. I admit that it is perilous to confer the franchise upon the ignorant and degraded; but if an educational test cannot be established, **let suffrage be extended to all men of proper age, regardless of color**. It may well be questioned whether the negro does not understand the nature of our institutions better than the equally ignorant foreigner. **He was intelligent enough to understand from the beginning of the war that the destiny of his race was involved in it. He was intelligent enough to be true to that Union which his educated and traitorous master was endeavoring to destroy. He came to us in the hour of our sorest need, and by his aid, under God, the republic was saved**. Shall we now be guilty of the unutterable meanness, not only of thrusting him beyond the pale of its blessings, but of committing his destiny to the tender mercies of those pardoned rebels who have been so reluctantly compelled to take their feet from his neck and their hands from his throat? But someone says it is dangerous at this time to make new experiments. I answer, it is always safe to do justice. However, **to grant suffrage to the black man in this country is not innovation, but restoration. It is a return to the ancient principles and practices of the fathers**.
  - James A. Garfield, Oration delivered at Ravenna, Ohio (https://archive.org/stream/worksjamesabram00garfgoog/worksjamesabram00garfgoog_djvu.txt) (4 July 1865).

- During the war of the Revolution, and in 1788, the date of the adoption of our national Constitution, there was but one State among the thirteen whose constitution refused the right of suffrage to the negro. That State was South Carolina. Some, it is true, established a property qualification; all made freedom a prerequisite; but none save South Carolina made color a condition of suffrage. The Federal Constitution makes no such distinction, nor did the *Articles of Confederation*. In the Congress of the Confederation, on the 25th of June, 1778, the fourth article was under discussion. It provided that 'the free inhabitants of each of these States — paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted — shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States.' The delegates from South Carolina moved to insert between the words 'free inhabitants' the word 'white', thus denying the privileges and immunities of citizenship to the colored man. According to the rules of the convention, each State had but one vote. Eleven States voted on the question. One was divided; two voted aye; and eight voted no. It was thus early, and almost unanimously, decided that *freedom*, not color, should be the test of citizenship. **No federal legislation prior to 1812 placed any restriction on the right of suffrage in consequence of the color of the citizen. From 1789 to 1812 Congress passed ten separate laws establishing new Territories. In all these, freedom, and not color, was the basis of suffrage.**
  - James A. Garfield, Oration delivered at Ravenna, Ohio (https://archive.org/stream/worksjamesabram00garfgoog/worksjamesabram00garfgoog_djvu.txt) (4 July 1865).

- The will of the nation, speaking with the voice of battle and through the amended Constitution, has fulfilled the great promise of 1776 by proclaiming 'liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof.' **The elevation of the negro race from slavery to the full rights of**

citizenship is the most important political change we have known since the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. NO thoughtful man can fail to appreciate its beneficent effect upon our institutions and people. It has freed us from the perpetual danger of war and dissolution. It has added immensely to the moral and industrial forces of our people. It has liberated the master as well as the slave from a relation which wronged and enfeebled both. It has surrendered to their own guardianship the manhood of more than 5,000,000 people, and has opened to each one of them a career of freedom and usefulness... No doubt this great change has caused serious disturbance to our Southern communities. This is to be deplored, though it was perhaps unavoidable. But those who resisted the change should remember that under our institutions there was no middle ground for the negro race between slavery and equal citizenship. **There can be no permanent disfranchised peasantry in the United States. Freedom can never yield its fullness of blessings so long as the law or its administration places the smallest obstacle in the pathway of any virtuous citizen**... **The emancipated race has already made remarkable progress. With unquestioning devotion to the Union, with a patience and gentleness not born of fear, they have "followed the light as God gave them to see the light."** They are rapidly laying the material foundations of self-support, widening their circle of intelligence, and beginning to enjoy the blessings that gather around the homes of the industrious poor. They deserve the generous encouragement of all good men. So far as my authority can lawfully extend they shall enjoy the full and equal protection of the Constitution and the laws... **Sections and races should be forgotten and partisanship should be unknown. Let our people find a new meaning in the divine oracle** which declares that 'a little child shall lead them', for our own little children will soon control the destinies of the Republic.

- James A. Garfield, inaugural address (http://web.archive.org/web/20000523111834/http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/inaug/garfield.htm) (4 March 1881).

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- In the study, black, Hispanic, Asian and white home seekers called up housing agents and asked to set up an appointment to see advertised properties. These testers were all the same gender, the same age and all equally well-qualified to rent or own the properties. At this step, nearly every tester managed to get an appointment.
  But after that, not everyone was treated the same. The testers met with their agents, who told them about and then showed them properties. As it turns out, the number of properties some agents have available depends on who you are.
  In nearly all cases, whether renting or buying, minorities were told about and shown fewer properties than white people. Blacks were told about and shown about 17 percent fewer homes than whites, while Asians were told about 15.5 percent fewer homes and shown nearly 19 percent fewer properties.
  - Ilyce Glink, “Racism is alive and well in housing” (https://www.cbsnews.com/news/racism-alive-and-well-in-housing/), *Money Watch' CBS News*, June 12, 2013).
- What is black in the United States is not what's black in Brazil or what's black in South Africa.
  - Alan Goodman, as quoted in "Episode One: The Difference Between Us" (https://web.archive.org/web/20031022220138/http://www.newsreel.org/transcripts/race.htm) (2003), *Race: The Power of an Illusion, California Newsreel*.
- American racial classification is totally cultural. Who's Tiger Woods? Who's Colin Powell? Colin Powell's as Irish as he is African. Being black has been defined as just looking dark enough that anyone can see you are.

- Stephen Jay Gould, as quoted in "Episode Three: The House We Live In" (http://newsreel.org/transcripts/race3.htm) (2003), *Race: The Power of an Illusion*, California Newsreel.

- **The present difficulty, in bringing all parts of the United States to a happy unity and love of country grows out of the prejudice to color. The prejudice is a senseless one, but it exists.**
  - Ulysses S. Grant, *Memorandum: Reasons why Santo Domingo should be annexed to the United States (http://books.google.com/books?id=h2ETxC83sdsC&pg=PA74&lpg=PA74&dq=%22and+he+would+soon+receive+such+recognition+as+to+induce+him+to+stay%22&source=bl&ots=0bCUbNud-b&sig=SUGBB2pV8Ob_jR_KTJvQ2kenxKM&hl=en&sa=X&ei=B-9kU7-8DtXesAT_4YGQBA&ved=0CDoQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=%22and%20he%20would%20soon%20receive%20such%20recognition%20as%20to%20induce%20him%20to%20stay%22&f=false)* (1870).

- I have no prejudice against sect or race, but want each individual to be judged by his own merit.
  - Ulysses S. Grant, Letter to Isaac N. Morris (https://books.google.com/books?id=JXn2Bq8KpDEC&pg=PA37&dq=%22I+have+no+prejudice+against+sect+or+race,+but+want+each+individual+to+be+judged+by+his+own+merit.%22&hl=en&sa=X&ei=eucJVYHXK4SxggSXj4S4BQ&ved=0CCQQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false) (14 September 1868), Galena, Illinois.

- **A measure which makes at once 4,000,000 people voters who were heretofore declared by the highest tribunal in the land not citizens of the United States, nor eligible to become so** (with the assertion that "at the time of the Declaration of Independence the opinion was fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race, regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, that black men had no rights which the white man was bound to respect"), **is indeed a measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind from the foundation of our free Government to the present day**.
  - Ulysses S. Grant, Special message to the Senate and House of Representatives (30 March 1870) (https://web.archive.org/web/20100530210158/http://www.nps.gov/ulsg/historyculture/grant-and-the-15th-amendment.htm)

The elevation of the negro race from slavery to the full rights of citizenship is the most important political change we have known since the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. *NO* thoughtful man can fail to appreciate its beneficent effect upon our institutions and people. It has freed us from the perpetual danger of war and dissolution. It has added immensely to the moral and industrial forces of our people. It has liberated the master as well as the slave. ~ James A. Garfield

- Institutions like ours, in which all power is derived directly from the people, must depend mainly upon their intelligence, patriotism, and industry. I call the attention, therefore, of the newly enfranchised race to the importance of their striving in every honorable manner to make themselves worthy of their new privilege. To the race more favored heretofore by our laws I would say, **Withhold no legal privilege of advancement to the new citizen.**
  - Ulysses S. Grant, Special message to the Senate and House of Representatives (30 March 1870) (https://web.archive.org/web/20100530210158/http://www.nps.gov/ulsg/historyculture/grant-and-the-15th-amendment.htm)

- The soil would have soon fallen into the hands of United States capitalists. The products are so valuable in commerce that emigration there would have been encouraged; the emancipated race of the South would have found there a congenial home, where their civil rights would not be disputed and where their labor would be so much sought after that the poorest among them could have found the means to go. Thus in cases of great oppression and cruelty, such as has been practiced upon them in many places within the last eleven years, whole communities would have sought refuge in Santo Domingo. I do not suppose the whole race would have gone, nor is it desirable that they should go. Their labor is desirable—indispensable almost—where they now are. But **the possession of this territory would have left the negro 'master of the situation', by enabling him to demand his rights at home on pain of finding them elsewhere.**

- Ulysses S. Grant, Special message to the Senate and House of Representatives (30 March 1870) (https://web.archive.org/web/20100530210158/http://www.nps.gov/ulsg/historyculture/grant-and-the-15th-amendment.htm)

The present difficulty, in bringing all parts of the United States to a happy unity and love of country grows out of the prejudice to color. The prejudice is a senseless one, but it exists. ~ Ulysses S. Grant

- Enjoined by the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', and convinced by undoubted evidence that violations of said act had been committed and that a widespread and flagrant disregard of it was contemplated, the proper officers were instructed to prosecute the offenders, and troops were stationed at convenient points to aid these officers, if necessary, in the performance of their official duties. **Complaints are made of this interference by Federal authority; but if said amendment and act do not provide for such interference under the circumstances as above stated, then they are without meaning, force, or effect, and the whole scheme of colored enfranchisement is worse than mockery and little better than a crime.** Possibly Congress may find it due to truth and justice to ascertain, by means of a committee, whether the alleged wrongs to colored citizens for political purposes are real or the reports thereof were manufactured for the occasion... Under existing conditions the negro votes the Republican ticket because he knows his friends are of that party. Many a good citizen votes the opposite, not because he agrees with the great principles of state which separate parties, but because, generally, he is opposed to negro rule. This is a most delusive cry. **Treat the negro as a citizen and a voter, as he is and must remain, and soon parties will be divided, not on the color line, but on principle**. Then we shall have no complaint of sectional interference.
  - Ulysses S. Grant, State of the Union Address (7 December 1874).
- One thing has struck me as a bit queer. During my two terms of office **the whole Democratic press**, and the morbidly honest and 'reformatory' portion of the Republican press, **thought it horrible to keep U.S. troops stationed in the Southern States, and when they were called upon to protect the lives of negroes–as much citizens under the Constitution as if their skins were white–the country was scarcely large enough to hold the sound of indignation belched forth by them** for some years. Now, however, there is no hesitation about exhausting the whole power of the government to suppress a strike on the slightest intimation that danger threatens. All parties agree that this is right, and so do I. If a negro insurrection should arise in South Carolina, Mississippi, or Louisiana, or if the negroes in either of these states, where they are in a large majority, should intimidate the whites from going to the polls, or from exercising any of the rights of American citizens, there would be no division of sentiment as to the duty of the president. It does seem **the rule should work both ways**.
  - Ulysses S. Grant, regarding keeping U.S. Army soldiers stationed in southern U.S. states to protect the safety and civil rights of freed slaves (26 August 1877), as quoted in *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant: November 1, 1876-September 30, 1878*, by U.S. Grant, pp. 251-252.
- Most Americans still believe that there is some biological legitimacy to our socially constructed racial categories. However, our modern scientific understanding of human genetic diversity flies in the face of all of our social stereotypes.
  - Joseph Graves, as quoted in "The Biological Case Against Race" (http://web.archive.org/web/20061115040049/http://www.heartland.org/pdf/12721n.pdf) (1 January 2002), *American Outlook*.

H

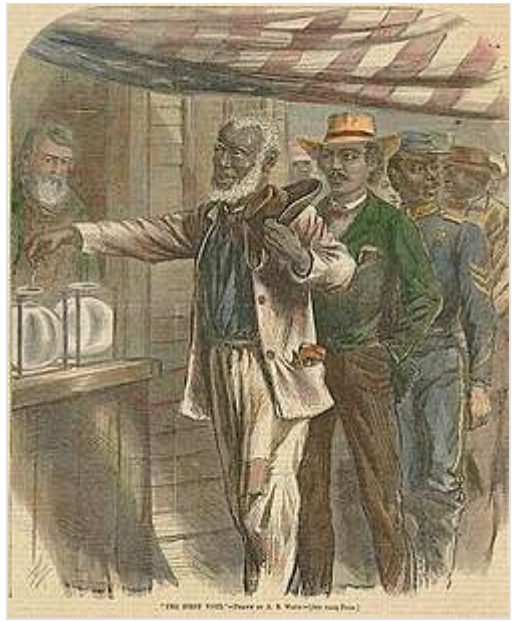
- In view of the constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. **Our constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are**

equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done... I cannot see but that, according to the principles this day announced, such state legislation, although conceived in hostility to, and enacted for the purpose of humiliating, citizens of the United States of a particular race, would be held to be consistent with the constitution.

- John Marshall Harlan, as quoted in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, 559 (1896)

- **When and under what conditions is the black man to have a free ballot? When is he in fact to have those full civil rights which have so long been his in law? When is that equality of influence which our form of government was intended to secure to the electors to be restored? This generation should courageously face these grave questions, and not leave them as a heritage of woe to the next.** The consultation should proceed with candor, calmness, and great patience, upon the lines of justice and humanity, not of prejudice and cruelty. No question in our country can be at rest except upon the firm base of justice and of the law... The colored people did not intrude themselves upon us. They were brought here in chains and held in the communities where they are now chiefly found by a cruel slave code. Happily for both races, they are now free. They have from a standpoint of ignorance and poverty—which was our shame, not theirs—made remarkable advances in education and in the acquisition of property. They have as a people shown themselves to be friendly and faithful toward the white race under temptations of tremendous strength. They have their representatives in the national cemeteries, where a grateful Government has gathered the ashes of those who died in its defense. They have furnished to our Regular Army regiments that have won high praise from their commanding officers for courage and soldierly qualities and for fidelity to the enlistment oath. In civil life they are now the toilers of their communities, making their full contribution to the widening streams of prosperity which these communities are receiving. Their sudden withdrawal would stop production and bring disorder into the household as well as the shop. Generally they do not desire to quit their homes, and their employers resent the interference of the emigration agents who seek to stimulate such a desire.

  - Benjamin Harrison, State of the Union Address (3 December 1889)



The negro votes the Republican ticket because he knows his friends are of that party. Many a good citizen votes the opposite, not because he agrees with the great principles of state which separate parties, but because, generally, he is opposed to negro rule. This is a most delusive cry. Treat the negro as a citizen and a voter, as he is and must remain, and soon parties will be divided, not on the color line, but on principle. ~ Ulysses S. Grant

- To the extent that 1776 led to the resultant U.S., which came to captain the African Slave Trade—as London moved in an opposing direction toward a revolutionary abolition of this form of property—the much-celebrated revolt of the North American settlers can fairly be said to have eventuated as a counter-revolution of slavery.

  - Gerald Horne, *The Counter-Revolution of 1776* (2014), p. x

- Ironically, the founders of the republic have been hailed and lionized by left, right, and center for—in effect—creating the first apartheid state.

  - Gerald Horne, *The Counter-Revolution of 1776* (2014), p. 4

I

- To be blind to color and colorism in this context is to license racial injustice and to ignore the historical trajectory of disenfranchisement and exploitation that have landed African Americans and people of color in a subordinate status position. ... Whites have inherited wealth that was ostensibly generated on the backs of African Americans. What's passed down through generations is an abdication of responsibility for this legacy and for the spoils that even working-class whites continue to reap from it. The situation is akin to finding a bloodied bag of money at your doorstep every month and spending it freely without seriously questioning where it came from or whose blood has been spilled to make it possible.
    - David H. Ikard and Martell Lee Teasley, *Nation of Cowards: Black Activism in Barack Obama's Post-Racial America* (Indiana University Press: 2012), p. 54

There is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. ~ John Marshall Harlan

J

- As sons of freedom you are now called upon to defend your most inestimable blessing. **As Americans, your country looks with confidence on her adopted children, for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government.**
    - Andrew Jackson, in New Orleans, Louisiana, 1814. As quoted in *The Life of Andrew Jackson (https://web.archive.org/web/20111029143820/http://home.nas.com/lopresti/ps7.htm)* (1967), by John Spencer Bassett, Archon Books. p. 156-157.
- There is no southern problem; there is no northern problem. There is only an American problem, and we are met here tonight as Americans. Not as Democrats or Republicans; we are met here as Americans to solve that problem... **To deny a man his hopes because of his color or race, his religion or the place of his birth–is not only to do injustice, it is to deny America and to dishonor the dead who gave their lives for American freedom.** Our fathers believed that if this noble view of the rights of man was to flourish, it must be rooted in democracy. The most basic right of all was the right to choose your own leaders. The history of this country, in large measure, is the history of the expansion of that right to all of our people.
    - Lyndon B. Johnson, *The American Promise* (http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=26805&st=&st1=#axzz2foHNK9TC) (15 March 1965), Washington, D.C.

K

- There are accepted definitions of Americanism. There is none of Americanization. The reason is not hard to find. There is in America a national impulse called Americanization, which was understood as a war necessity before it had developed in time of peace. It acquired a generalization before it had become specific. It was subjected to organization and committed to the achievement of results before it was a branch of knowledge fairly evolved and reduced to practice. There is no science of race assimilation. No nation has had a sufficiently free opportunity with many diverse races to establish its enduring principles and certain procedure. America has this opportunity in her thirty-five different races speaking fifty-four languages, of whom 13,000,000 are foreign-born. One third of her total population has its roots in other soils

and in diverse cultures. She has the laboratory for the experiment in her wide expanse of territory, much of it still unsettled; in the elasticity of her institutions; and in the still formative state of her cultural life. **The old world is engaged in a struggle to find a way by which each race living on its own soil, separated by definite national boundaries, can be assured freedom and peace in the full development of its national life and in the realization of international opportunities. The task of America is different. It is for her to find the way by which these races, living on one soil, under one form of government, with no territorial lines, can be assimilated and become a part of her integral national life**.

  - Frances Kellor, "What is Americanization?" (https://archive.org/stream/immigrationameri00daviuoft/immigrationameri00daviuoft_djvu.txt) (January 1919), *Yale Review*.

- This idea of a post-racial society was quite possibly the most sophisticated racist idea ever created. Because unlike previous racist ideas, that specifically told us how we should think about particular people of color, or how we should think about this particular racial group. What post-racial ideas did was it said to us racism doesn't exist, racist policy doesn't exist, in the face of all of these racial inequities. And so then it caused us to say, OK, this inequity, like, the black unemployment rate being twice as high as the white unemployment rate, it can't exist because of racism. It must exist because there's something wrong with black workers.

  - Ibram X. Kendi, as interviewed by Rachel Martin in "How Racism Has Evolved Over The Last 2 U.S. Presidencies" (https://www.npr.org/2019/08/14/751027770/how-racism-has-evolved-over-the-last-2-u-s-presidencies), *NPR Morning Edition*, (August 14, 2019).

- Remember, boys and girls. Your school, like our country, is made up of Americans of many different races, religions, and national origins. So, if you hear anybody talk against a schoolmate or anyone else because of his religion, race, or national origin, don't wait. Tell him that kind of talk is un-American.

  - Clark Kent, "Help Keep Your School All-American" (http://i.imgur.com/4T3wPxq.jpg) (1949), National Comics Publishing, Incorporated.

- American society, composed of diverse races and ethnicities, has a lot of tolerance of different kinds of people and can embrace them all as Americans.

  - Sae-jung Kim, "South Korea's Reaction to the Virginia Tech Massacre: Koreans view American feelings through the lens of their own culture" (https://web.archive.org/web/20120618082412/http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?no=356853&rel_no=1) (19 April 2007), *OhMyNews: International*.

Now our struggle is for genuine equality, which means economic equality. For we know now, that it isn't enough to integrate lunch counters. What does it profit a man to be able to eat at an integrated lunch counter if he doesn't have enough money to buy a hamburger? ~ Martin Luther King, Jr.

- Now our struggle is for genuine equality, which means economic equality. For we know now, that it isn't enough to integrate lunch counters. What does it profit a man to be able to eat at an integrated lunch counter if he doesn't have enough money to buy a hamburger?

  - Martin Luther King, Jr., Speech in Memphis, Tennessee, March 1968, in *The Radical King*, p. 249

- The Trump administration has cracked down on widespread demonstrations over the death of George Floyd, and America's chief geopolitical rivals—including China, Russia and Iran—have condemned the United States for its hypocrisy. "The timing couldn't have been better for China," since it faces its own protests in Hong Kong, Rodger Baker, senior vice president of strategic analysis at Stratfor, tells Forbes; it allows the Chinese government to "send a message to its people: 'At least we're putting things in order in Hong Kong, so how can the U.S. yell at

us?'" Russia's foreign ministry on Thursday condemned Washington for hypocrisy and not protecting the rights of its own citizens—while routinely criticizing Russia for just that... Iranian Foreign Affairs Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif similarly condemned the "scenes of brutality against protesters & press" taking place in U.S. cities and accused Europe of being "quick to judge" about non-Western societies and mocked them for staying "deafeningly silent." Instead of calling for national unity amid mass protests, President Donald Trump has called for a strong military response and threatened to deploy active-duty troops, even as police in some cases use force to clear out peaceful protesters. Not only has that drawn criticism from current and former government officials, but also from geopolitical rivals like Russia, China and Iran for what they see as hypocrisy. The U.S. has in the past condemned all three countries for using heavy-handed tactics to clamp down on pro-democracy protesters.

  - China, Russia And Iran Mock U.S. Handling Of Protests: 'I Have A Dream, But I Can't Breathe', by Sergei Klebnikov, *Fortune* (https://www.forbes.com/sites/sergeiklebnikov/2020/06/08/china-russia-and-iran-mock-us-handling-of-protests-i-have-a-dream-but-i-cant-breathe/#3d9c96663629) (8 Jun 2020)

- Ordinary Americans, even those in blue states like California, Washington and Michigan, do not like policies of race-based preferences and discrimination... Equal protection of equal rights is the American ideal, enshrined forever in the proposition that all men are created equal, and it is right. Racism is wrong precisely because equality is right.

  - Thomas L. Krannawitter, "Winning Strategy For Republicans: Getting Rid Of Racial Preferences" (https://web.archive.org/web/20080113125633/http://www.investors.com/editorial/editorialcontent.asp?secid=1502&status=article&id=251338043390470) (18 December 2006), *Investors*, Investor's Business Daily, Inc.

L

- Dr. Lederer said that although the evidence against Dr. Rhoads was insufficient to conclude he had killed anyone during his time in Puerto Rico, there is little doubt he was a racist. America during the 1930s was very different from today, Dr. Lederer noted.
"The fascinating thing was that you could claim this letter was a joke and get away with it. The Tuskegee experiment began in 1932, and the Public Health Service wasn't hiding it or giving the men syphilis, but they were certainly exposing them to danger because of who they were. If we're going to tar Rhoads, the net has to be cast a lot farther."

  - Susan E. Lederer as quoted by Eric T. Rosenthal, (2003-09-10). "The Rhoads Not Given: The Tainting of the Cornelius P. Rhoads Memorial Award" (https://journals.lww.com/oncology-times/Fulltext/2003/09100/The_Rhoads_Not_Given__The_Tainting_of_the.7.aspx). *Oncology Times*. 25 (17): 19–20. doi:10.1097/01.COT.0000290560.69715.bf. ISSN 0276-2234. S2CID 76355659.

- Remove the word black and say 'lives matter'... Stop sending mothers back home empty. You can never replace a mother's child. **If we want black lives matter, let's make it matter to us**. That's the new call.

  - Ray Lewis, as quoted in "Former NFL Player Ray Lewis: 'Let's Make Lives Matter'" (https://web.archive.org/web/20150917002938/http://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/former-nfl-de-ray-lewis-lets-make-lives-matter-n424971) (2015), by Khorri Atkinson, *NBC News*.

- **When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs *another* man, that is *more* than self-government — that is despotism. If the negro is a *man*, why then my ancient faith teaches me that "all men are created equal," and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another.**

  - Abraham Lincoln, Speech at Peoria, Illinois (1854), Online text Speech at Peoria, Illinois, in Reply to Senator Douglas (16 October 1854) (http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/detail/3503); published in *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1894) Vol. 2.

- You enquire where I now stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a whig; but others say there are no whigs, and that I am an abolitionist. When I was at Washington I voted for the Wilmot Proviso as good as forty times, and I never heard of any one attempting to unwhig me for that. I now do more than oppose the extension of slavery.

  I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we begin by declaring that "*all men are created equal.*" We now practically read it "all men are created equal, *except negroes*." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes, *and foreigners, and Catholics*." When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty — to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be take pure, and without the base alloy of hypocracy [sic].

  - Abraham Lincoln, letter to longtime friend and slave-holder Joshua F. Speed, Esq., (24 August 1855).

- Let us then turn this Government back into the channel in which the framers of the Constitution originally placed it. Let us stand firmly by each other. If we do not do so we are turning in the contrary direction, that our friend Judge Douglas proposes — not intentionally — as working in the traces tend to make this one universal slave nation. He is one that runs in that direction, and as such I resist him. My friends, I have detained you about as long as I desired to do, and I have only to say, **let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man; this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position; discarding our standard that we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.** My friends, I could not, without launching off upon some new topic, which would detain you too long, continue to-night. I thank you for this most extensive audience that you have furnished me to-night. **I leave you, hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created free and equal.**

  - Abraham Lincoln, Speech in reply to Senator Stephen Douglas in the Lincoln-Douglas debates (http://www.bartleby.com/251/1003.html) of the 1858 campaign for the U.S. Senate, at Chicago, Illinois (10 July 1858).

- Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race and the other race being inferior and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.

  - Abraham Lincoln, Address to Chicagoan abolitionists (10 July 1858); quoted in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), p. 501 (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/lincoln/lincoln2/1:526?rgn=div1;singlegenre=All;sort=occur;subview=detail;type=simple;view=fulltext;q1=Let+us+discard+all+this+quibbling).

- I do not perceive that because the white man is to have the superior position the negro should be denied everything. I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I can just let her alone. I am now in my fiftieth year, and I certainly never had a black woman for either a slave or a wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes.

  - Abraham Lincoln, Fourth Lincoln-Douglas Debate (18 September 1858).

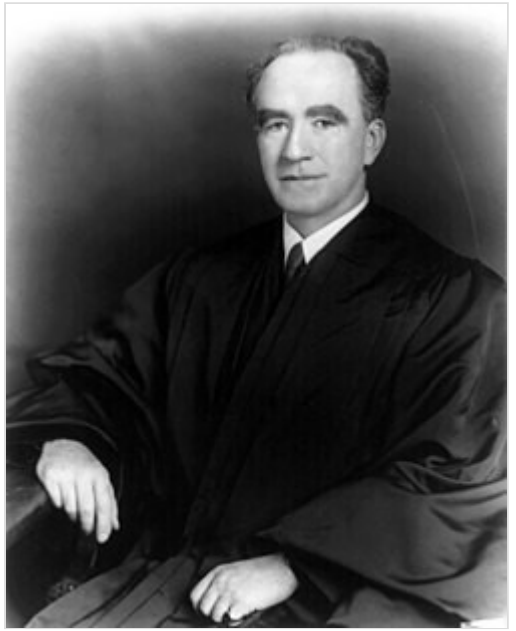
- But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land. **Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous?** Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored to seven whites. Could the one in any way greatly disturb the seven? **There are many communities now having more than one free colored person to seven whites and this without any apparent consciousness of evil from it.** The District of Columbia and the States of Maryland and Delaware are all in this condition. **The District has more than one free colored to six whites, and yet in its frequent petitions to**

Congress I believe it has never presented the presence of free colored persons as one of its grievances. But why should emancipation South send the free people North? People of any color seldom run unless there be something to run from. Hertofore **colored people to some extent have fled North from bondage, and now, perhaps, from both bondage and destitution**.

- Abraham Lincoln, Second State of the Union Address (1 December 1862).

M

- We have seen the mere distinction of color made, in the most enlightened period of time, a ground of the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man.
  - James Madison, speech at the Constitutional Convention (https://books.google.com/books?id=zkRKqnxjbAoC&pg=PA199&dq=%22liberate+and+make+soldiers+at+once+of%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CC4Q6AEwA2oVChMIyeyr5cPRxwIVDDU-Ch2IxQjN#v=onepage&q=%22liberate%20and%20make%20soldiers%20at%20once%20of%22&f=false) (6 June 1787).
- I've got nothing against any individual American, except that there aren't any. They're always Irish-American, African-American–there's never an American-American you can *blame!*
  - Simon Munnery, as quoted in *Attention Scum*.
- **Any inconvenience that may have accompanied an attempt to conform to procedural due process cannot be said to justify violations of constitutional rights of individuals. I dissent, therefore, from this legalization of racism. Racial discrimination in any form and in any degree has no justifiable part whatever in our democratic way of life. It is unattractive in any setting, but it is utterly revolting among a free people who have embraced the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States. All residents of this nation are kin in some way by blood or culture to a foreign land. Yet they are primarily and necessarily a part of the new and distinct civilization of the United States. They must, accordingly, be treated at all times as the heirs of the American experiment, and as entitled to all the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.**
  - Frank Murphy, Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944), at 242, dissenting.



Racial discrimination in any form and in any degree has no justifiable part whatever in our democratic way of life. It is unattractive in any setting, but it is utterly revolting among a free people who have embraced the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States. ~ Frank Murphy

N

- Always, the rulers of an order, consistent with their own interests and solely of their own design, have employed what to them seemed to be the most optimal and efficient means of maintaining unquestioned social and economic advantage. Clear-cut superiority in things social and economic—by whatever means—has been a scruples-free premise of American ruling class authority from the society's inception to the present. The initial socioeconomic advantage, begotten by chattel slavery, was enforced by undaunted violence and the constant threat of more violence.
  - Huey P. Newton, *War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America*, Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Faculty of University of California Santa Cruz, June 1, 1980

- Prior to the Civil War there was no constitutional safeguard against depriving persons of rights or privileges because of their race, the inevitable position of a system which legitimized slavery.
  - John E. Nowak, Ronald D. Rotunda; ”Constitutional Law”, 2004, p.736

O

- Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and does not succeed. For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding. This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia. It's a story with a simple truth: violence is a dead end. It is a sign of neither courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus. That is not how moral authority is claimed; that is how it is surrendered.
  - Barack H. Obama II, "A New Beginning" (June 2009), Egypt.

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- When politicians insult Muslims, when a mosque is vandalized, or a kid bullied, that doesn’t make us safer. That’s not telling it like it is. It’s just wrong. It diminishes us in the eyes of the world. It makes it harder to achieve our goals. And it betrays who we are as a country... We need to reject any politics that targets people because of race or religion. This isn’t a matter of political correctness. It’s a matter of understanding what makes us strong. The world respects us not just for our arsenal; it respects us for our diversity and our openness and the way we respect every faith... If we give up now, then we forsake a better future. Those with money and power will gain greater control over the decisions that could send a young soldier to war, or allow another economic disaster, or roll back the equal rights and voting rights that generations of Americans have fought, even died, to secure. As frustration grows, there will be voices urging us to fall back into tribes, to scapegoat fellow citizens who don’t look like us, or pray like us, or vote like we do, or share the same background. We can’t afford to go down that path. It won’t deliver the economy we want, or the security we want, but most of all, it contradicts everything that makes us the envy of the world.
  - Barack H. Obama II, State of the Union address (https://medium.com/@WhiteHouse/president-obama-s-2016-state-of-the-union-address-7c06300f9726#.flsvqkay9) (12 January 2016).
- What is so intertwined in this discussion is that this is not just also about open critiques of capitalism, but also open critiques of white supremacy. And it’s in greater understanding of white supremacy, not as just, you know, these social, these racist, social clubs of people dawning hoods, but actually as a system and a systems understanding of how white supremacy has interacted with the development of the United States.
  - Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, AOC & Noam Chomsky: The Way Forward + transcript (https://lauraflanders.org/2021/10/aoc-noam-chomsky/) October 28, 2021
- Black folks are descendants of slaves that were imported, quote-unquote by slave owners, to the United States for the explicit purpose of cultivating crops. And it was predicated on white supremacy and racial superiority, but we have to understand that white supremacy exists for a reason, and they exist for a very specific cultural and economic reasons. And LBJ talked about this — like, **if you can convince a poor white**

man that he's superior to a black man, he'll empty his pockets for you.
And so it's not just economic reasons why racism exists but there are economic reasons why racism is perpetuated and incentivized. More of that's housing, income, et cetera... Until America tells the truth about itself we're never going to heal.... It's like this thing that as a culture we hide... it's like this big wound with a big ugly scab on it, and it's just going to stay... until we just deal with it....

  - Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in *Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez on her First Weeks In Washington, The Intercept* (https://theintercept.com/2019/01/28/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-podcast/) (28 January 2019)

- Acknowledging racism is a really big step... but... it's nowhere near enough.... the idea that you can be poor and benefit from the color of your skin does not compute for a lot of people... And going through that realization is very painful... for people that are that were born with silver spoons, it's very painful to admit that you had advantages...

  - Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in *Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez on her First Weeks In Washington, The Intercept* (https://theintercept.com/2019/01/28/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-podcast/) (28 January 2019)

P

- The gruesome and horrendous murder of George Floyd in full view of the entire world has brought our nation to a tipping point in race relations. In spite of the tragedy of these times, my heart is filled with hope. Watching millions of Americans across our nation march, protest, and proclaim for justice, fairness, and equality is inspiring... While the George Floyd murder has shone the spotlight on police brutality, it has also shone a spotlight on our nation's original sin, racism. It is my belief that there is institutional racism in our nation and in our community. It is rarely talked about because human nature is to deny the racism in front of us but to accept that it's in those other cities and towns—not in our city leadership, not in our neighborhoods, and not in our churches. I believe now is the time to have the conversation that racism is here... A famous philosopher. George Santayana once said, "Those who cannot learn from history are destined to repeat it." **It is my hope that our community is ready to learn about our history with racism as it works together to build a better future**.

  - Dennis Patterson in *Now, let's have the conversation about racism, Post Register*, (https://www.postregister.com/opinion/guest_column/now-lets-have-the-conversation-about-racism/article_965ffe6a-f847-5170-aca2-0e6cc8f51285.html) (18 Jun 2020)

- In 2005, the political scientists Nicholas Valentino and David Sears demonstrated (http://www.thenation.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/race-party-realignment-in-the-south-old-times-not-forgotten2.pdf) that a Southern man holding conservative positions on issues other than race is no more likely than a conservative Northerner to vote for a Democrat. But when the relevant identifier is anti-black answers to survey questions—like whether one agrees "If blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites"—white Southerners were twice as likely than white Northerners to refuse to vote Democratic. As another political scientist, Thomas Schaller, wrote in his 2006 book *Whistling Past Dixie (http://books.google.com/books/about/Whistling_Past_Dixie.html?id=jG5Jhexkjg0C)* (which naturally quotes the infamous Atwater lines), "Despite the best efforts of Republican spinmeisters…the partisan impact of racial attitudes in the South is stronger today than in the past."

The *Declaration of Independence*, the document that articulated the principle of human rights endowed by the Creator, thereby ultimately ensuring the end of slavery, and led to the establishment of the country that has served as the beacon of hope for people of every race and ethnicity. More black Africans have voluntarily emigrated to the United States to seek liberty and opportunity than came to America as slaves... America gradually became the least-xenophobic, least-racist nation in the world. In no country do people become accepted as full members of the society as do immigrants to America. ~ Dennis Prager

- Rick Perlstein, “Exclusive: Lee Atwater’s Infamous 1981 Interview on the Southern Strategy” (https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/exclusive-lee-atwaters-infamous-1981-interview-southern-strategy/), *The Nation*, (Nov 13, 2012)

- For critics of the criminal justice system, the arrest and imprisonment rates for blacks and other minorities suggest that the system discriminates against those groups. They argue, for example, that blacks, who make up 12 percent of the national population, could not possibly commit 48 percent of the crime: Yet that is exactly what arrest and imprisonment rates imply about black criminality. Defend-ers of the system argue that the arrest and imprisonment rates do not lie; the system simply reacts to the prevalence of crime in the black community. As we have noted repeatedly, prior research has not. set-tled this controversy. For every study that finds discrimination in ar-rests, convictions, sentencing, prison treatment, or parole, another denies it.
  - Joan Petersilia, "Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System" (https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/127137NCJRS.pdf), *National Institute of Corrections, Department of Justice*, (June 1983), p. 89.

- A minority male is almost four times more likely than a white male to have an index arrest in his lifetime: One in every two nonwhite males in large U.S. cities can expect to have at least one index arrest. However, the RIS data indicate that, once involved in crime, whites and minorities in the sample have virtually the same annual crime commission rates. This accords with Blumstein and Graddy's (1981) finding that the recidivism rate for index offenses is approximately .85 for both whites and nonwhites. Thus, the data suggest that large racial differences in aggregate arrest rates must be attributed primar-ily to differences in involvement, and not to different patterns among those who do participate. Under these circumstances, any empirically derived indicators of recidivism should target a roughly equal number of whites and minorities. In other words, even if recidivism among whites had different causes or correlates than recidivism among non-whites, they should at least balance one another. They should not consistently identify nonwhites as more appropriate candidates for more severe treatment.
  - Joan Petersilia, "Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System" (https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/127137NCJRS.pdf), *National Institute of Corrections, Department of Justice*, (June 1983), p. 98.

- Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, the document that articulated the principle of human rights endowed by the Creator, thereby ultimately ensuring the end of slavery, and led to the establishment of the country that has served as the beacon of hope for people of every race and ethnicity. More black Africans have voluntarily emigrated to the United States to seek liberty and opportunity than came to America as slaves... Conservatives view America as President Abraham Lincoln viewed it; as the 'Last Best Hope of Earth'... America gradually became the least-xenophobic, least-racist nation in the world. In no country do people become accepted as full members of the society as do immigrants to America.
  - Dennis Prager, "Why the Left Hates America" (http://www.nationalreview.com/article/421681/why-left-hates-america-dennis-prager) (28 July 2015), *National Review*

- The problem of the twenty-first century, then, is the problem of the color-blind. This problem is simple: it believes that to redress racism, we need to not consider race in social practice, notably in the sphere of governmental action. The state, we are told, must be above race. ... We are led to believe that racism is prejudicial behavior of one party against another rather than the coagulation of socioeconomic injustice against groups. If the state acts without prejudice (this is, if it acts equally), then that is proof of the end of racism. Unequal socioeconomic conditions of today, based as they are on racisms of the past and of the present, are thereby rendered untouchable by the state. Color-blind justice privatizes inequality and racism, and it removes itself from the project of redistributive and anti-racist justice. This is the genteel racism of our new millennium.
  - Vijay Prashad, *Everybody Was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity* (2002), p. 38

- If Malcolm X or the Black Panthers had attempted to set up a separate black state on American soil in the tradition of John Brown, their efforts would have been crushed immediately... A nation which, since its founding, has rejected the idea of hereditary entitlements. Slavery and racial

discrimination are exceptions to this tradition. Huge, horrific exceptions, but exceptions nonetheless. For all the hypocrisies and bigotries of its citizens and leaders, the United States does promise liberty, equality and justice. The gap between these promises and realities often yaws wide, but the promises abide. They are part of the 'American Dream', the 'American Creed', and the American 'civil religion', which no amount of 'realism' or cynicism seems able to smother... No group in American history has had more reason to disbelieve America's promises than African Americans... Imbued with Christianity and the American Creed, most black Americans rejected the appeals of socialists in the late nineteenth century, Communists in the 1930s, and neo-Marxist 'liberationists' in the 1960s. Rather, when America's unpaid 'promissory note' came due in the 1950s and 1960s, they marched forth from Christian churches to demand fulfillment of the very American promise that 'all men are created equal'. And faith in the redeemability of America's promises remains in the African-American community today, sustaining efforts to overcome continued segregation, unjust incarceration and enduring economic inequality.

- Jeff Pyle, "Race, Equality and the Rule of Law: Critical Race Theory's Attack on the Promises of Liberalism" (http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2124&context=bclr) (May 1999), *Boston College Law Review*.

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- Discrimination against the Negro race in this country is unjust, is unworthy of a high-minded people whose example should have a salutary influence in the world.
  - Joseph Hayne Rainey, speech about the Civil Rights Act under consideration which was passed in 1875 (https://web.archive.org/web/20141009081941/http://www.law.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/RaineyDec101873.pdf) (19 December 1873), as quoted in *Neglected Voices* (https://web.archive.org/web/20141009081941/http://www.law.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/RaineyDec101873.pdf), New York University School of Law.

There are good men and bad men of all nationalities, creeds and colors; and if this world of ours is ever to become what we hope some day it may become, it must be by the general recognition that the man's heart and soul, the man's worth and actions, determine his standing. ~ Theodore Roosevelt

- Hispanic American men have lower average wage rates than white non-Hispanics. In 1975 the average white non-Hispanic male wage-earner in the United States earned $5.97 an hour. Mexican men earned $4.31, 72% as much as white non-Hispanics; Puerto Rican men earned $4.52, 76% as much; and Cuban men earned $5.33, 89% as much as white non-Hispanics. By way of comparison, black men's average wages in 1975 were $4.65, 78% of the white male wage.
  - Cordelia W. Reimers, “Labor Market Discrimination Against Hispanic and Black Men” (https://www.jstor.org/stable/1935925?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents), *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (Nov., 1983), p. 570.
- We condemn bigots who inject class, racial and religious prejudice into public and political matters. Bigotry is un-American and a danger to the republic. We deplore the duplicity and insincerity of the party in power in racial and religious matters. Although they have been in office as a 'Majority Party' for many years, they have not kept nor do they intend to keep their promises. The Republican Party will not mislead, exploit or attempt to confuse minority groups for political purposes. All American citizens are entitled to full, impartial enforcement of Federal laws relating to their civil rights. We believe that it is the primary responsibility of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, and this power, reserved to the states, is essential to the maintenance of our Federal Republic. However, we believe that the Federal Government should take supplemental action within its constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination against race, religion or national origin..
  - *Republican Party Platform of 1952* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150307013551/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25837) (7 July 1952).

- **This nation was created to give expression, validity and purpose to our spiritual heritage—the supreme worth of the individual. In such a nation—a nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal—racial discrimination has no place. It can hardly be reconciled with a Constitution that guarantees equal protection under law to all persons. In a deeper sense, too, it is immoral and unjust.** As to those matters within reach of political action and leadership, we pledge ourselves unreservedly to its eradication... **Equality under law promises more than the equal right to vote and transcends mere relief from discrimination by government. It becomes a reality only when all persons have equal opportunity, without distinction of race, religion, color or national origin, to acquire the essentials of life—housing, education and employment. The Republican Party—the party of Abraham Lincoln—from its very beginning has striven to make this promise a reality.** It is today, as it was then, unequivocally dedicated to making the greatest amount of progress toward the objective.
  - *Republican Party Platform of 1960* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150131220843/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25839) (25 July 1960).
- It has long been a fundamental conviction of the Republican Party that government should foster in our society a climate of maximum individual liberty and freedom of choice. Properly informed, our people as individuals or acting through instruments of popular consultation can make the right decisions affecting personal or general welfare, free of pervasive and heavy-handed intrusion by the central government into the decision-making process. This tenet is the genius of representative democracy. Republicans also treasure the ethnic, cultural, and regional diversity of our people. This diversity fosters a dynamism in American society that is the envy of the world... As the 'Party of Lincoln', we remain equally and steadfastly committed to the equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of race. Although this nation has not yet eliminated all vestiges of racism over the years we are heartened by the progress that has been made, we are proud of the role that our party has played, and we are dedicated to standing shoulder to shoulder with black Americans in that cause.
  - *Republican Party Platform of 1980* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150421074759/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25844) (15 July 1980), Detroit, Michigan.
- No individual should be victimized by unfair discrimination because of race, sex, advanced age, physical handicap, difference of national origin or religion, or economic circumstance... Republicans deplore growing antisemitism... The Republican Party supports the principle and process of self-determination in Africa. We reaffirm our commitment to this principle... We recognize that much is at stake in Africa and that the United States and the industrial west have vital interests there, economically, strategically, and politically. Working closely with our allies, a Republican administration will seek to assist the countries of Africa with our presence, our markets, our know-how, and our investment. We will work to create a climate of economic and political development and confidence. We will encourage and assist business to play a major role in support of regional industrial development programs, mineral complexes, and agricultural self-sufficiency. Republicans believe that African nations, if given a choice, will reject the Marxist, totalitarian model being forcibly imposed.
  - *Republican Party Platform of 1980* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150421074759/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25844) (15 July 1980), Detroit, Michigan.
- The African peoples are convinced that the west is central to world stability and economic growth on which their own fortunes ultimately depend. A Republican administration will adhere to policies that reflect the complex origins of African conflicts, demonstrate that we know what

The cornerstone of this republic, as of all free governments, is respect for and obedience to the law. Where we permit the law to be defied or evaded, whether by rich man or poor man, by black man or white, we are by just so much weakening the bonds of our civilization and increasing the chances of its overthrow. ~ Theodore Roosevelt

U.S. interests are, and back those interests in meaningful ways. We will recognize the important role of economic and military assistance programs and will devote major resources to assisting African development and stability when such aid is given on a bilateral basis and contributes directly to American interests on the continent. In southern Africa, American policies must be guided by common sense and by our own humanitarian principles. Republicans believe that our history has meaning for Africa in demonstrating that a multi-racial society with guarantees of individual rights is possible and can work. We must remain open and helpful to all parties, whether in the new Zimbabwe, in Namibia, or in the Republic of South Africa. A Republican administration will not endorse situations or constitutions, in whatever society, which are racist in purpose or in effect. It will not expect miracles, but will press for genuine progress in achieving goals consistent with American ideals.

- *Republican Party Platform of 1980* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150421074759/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25844) (15 July 1980), Detroit, Michigan.

I cannot consent to take the position that the door of hope — the door of opportunity — is to be shut upon any man, no matter how worthy, purely upon the grounds of race or color. Such an attitude would, according to my convictions, be fundamentally wrong. ~ Theodore Roosevelt

- The Republican Party reaffirms its support of the pluralism and freedom that have been part and parcel of this great country. In so doing, it repudiates and completely disassociates itself from people, organizations, publications, and entities which promulgate the practice of any form of bigotry, racism, antisemitism, or religious intolerance... Americans demand a civil rights policy premised on the letter of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That law requires equal rights; and it is our policy to end discrimination on account of sex, race, color, creed, or national origin. We have vigorously enforced civil rights statutes. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has recovered record amounts of back pay and other compensation for victims of employment discrimination. Just as we must guarantee opportunity, we oppose attempts to dictate results. We will resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment. Quotas are the most insidious form of discrimination: reverse discrimination against the innocent. We must always remember that, in a free society, different individual goals will yield different results. The Republican Party has an historic commitment to equal rights for women. Republicans pioneered the right of women to vote, and our party was the first major party to advocate equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.
  - *Republican Party Platform of 1984* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150421085040/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25845) (20 August 1984), Republican National Convention Committee on Resolution.
- We reaffirm our commitment to the rights of all South Africans. Apartheid is repugnant. In South Africa, as elsewhere on the continent, we support well-conceived efforts to foster peace, prosperity, and stability... Since its inception, the Republican Party has stood for the worth of every person. On that ground, we support the pluralism and diversity that have been part of our country's greatness. Deep in our hearts, we do believe that bigotry has no place in American life. We denounce those persons, organizations, publications, and movements which practice or promote racism, antisemitism or religious intolerance.
  - *Republican Party Platform of 1988* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150421074053/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25846) (16 August 1988), Republican National Convention.
- The protection of individual rights is the foundation for opportunity and security. The Republican Party is unique in this regard. Since its inception, it has respected every person, even when that proposition was not universally popular. Today, as in the day of Lincoln, we insist that no American's rights are negotiable. That is why we declare that bigotry and prejudice have no place in American life. We denounce all who practice or promote racism, antisemitism, or religious intolerance... We urge peace and justice for Northern Ireland. We welcome the newly

begun process of constitutional dialogue that holds so much promise. We encourage investment and reconstruction to create opportunity for all.

  - *Republican Party Platform of 1992* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150529195928/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25847) (17 August 1992), Republican National Convention.

- We are the party of individual Americans, whose rights we protect and defend as the foundation for opportunity and security for all. Today, as at our founding in the day of Lincoln, we insist no one's rights are negotiable. As we strive to forge a national consensus on the divisive issues of our time, we call on all Republicans and all Americans to reject the forces of hatred and bigotry. Accordingly, we denounce all who practice or promote racism, antisemitism, ethnic prejudice, and religious intolerance... Because we are all one America, we oppose discrimination. We believe in the equality of all people before the law and that individuals should be judged by their ability rather than their race.

  - *Republican Party Platform of 1996* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150421092117/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25848) (12 August 1996), Republican National Convention, San Diego, California.

- We meet at a remarkable time in the life of our country. Our powerful economy gives America a unique chance to confront persistent challenges. Our country, after an era of drift, must now set itself to important tasks and higher goals. The Republican Party has the vision and leadership to address these issues. Our platform is uplifting and visionary. It reflects the views of countless Americans all across this country who believe in prosperity with a purpose... Since the election of 1860, the Republican Party has had a special calling, to advance the founding principles of freedom and limited government and the dignity and worth of every individual... Equality of individuals before the law has always been a cornerstone of our party. We therefore oppose discrimination based on sex, race, age, religion, creed, disability, or national origin and will vigorously enforce anti-discrimination statutes. As we strive to forge a national consensus on the crucial issues of our time, we call on all Americans to reject the forces of hatred and bigotry. Accordingly, we denounce all who practice or promote racism, antisemitism, ethnic prejudice, and religious intolerance. Our country was founded in faith and upon the truth that self-government is rooted... Rule of law is not consistent with state-sponsored brutality. When the Russian government attacks civilians in Chechnya, killing innocents without discrimination or accountability, neglecting orphans and refugees, it can no longer expect aid from international lending institutions. Moscow needs to operate with civilized self-restraint.

  - *Republican Party Platform of 2000* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150421074248/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25849) (31 July 2000), Republican National Convention, United States of America: Republican National Committee.

- Individual rights, and the responsibilities that go with them, are the foundation of a free society. From the time of Lincoln, equality of individuals has been a cornerstone of the Republican Party. Our commitment to equal opportunity extends from landmark school-choice legislation for the students of Washington, D.C. to historic appointments at the highest levels of government. We consider discrimination based on sex, race, age, religion, creed, disability, or national origin to be immoral, and we will strongly enforce anti-discrimination statutes. We ask all to join us in rejecting the forces of hatred and bigotry and in denouncing all who practice or promote racism, antisemitism, ethnic prejudice, or religious intolerance. As a matter of principle, Republicans oppose any attempts to create race-based governments within the United States, as well as any domestic governments not bound by the constitution or the Bill of Rights. Precisely because we oppose discrimination, we reject preferences, quotas, and set-asides, whether in education or in corporate boardrooms. The government should not make contracts on this basis, and neither should corporations.

  - *Republican Party Platform of 2008* (https://web.archive.org/web/20150421092238/http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=78545) (1 September 2008), Republican National Convention, United States of America.

- Free speech on college campuses is to be celebrated, but there should be no place in academia for antisemitism or racism of any kind... All Americans stand equal before the law. We embrace the principle that all Americans should be treated with respect and dignity. In the spirit of the constitution, we consider discrimination based on sex, race, age, religion, creed, disability, or national origin unacceptable and immoral. We

will strongly enforce anti-discrimination statutes and ask all to join us in rejecting the forces of hatred and bigotry and in denouncing all who practice or promote racism, antisemitism, ethnic prejudice, or religious intolerance.

  - *Republican Party Platform of 2012* (https://web.archive.org/web/20141019044325/https://cdn.gop.com/docs/2012GOPPlatform.pdf) (27 August 2012), Republican National Convention, United States of America.

- **I cannot consent to take the position that the door of hope — the door of opportunity — is to be shut upon any man, no matter how worthy, purely upon the grounds of race or color. Such an attitude would, according to my convictions, be fundamentally wrong.**

  - Theodore Roosevelt, letter to James Adger Smythe (http://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record.aspx?libID=o266191) (26 November 1902).

- As a people **we claim the right to speak with peculiar emphasis for freedom and for fair treatment of all men without regard to differences of race, fortune, creed, or color**. We forfeit the right so to speak when we commit or condone such crimes as these of which I speak. The nation, like the individual, cannot commit a crime with impunity. If we are guilty of lawlessness and brutal violence, whether our guilt consists in active participation therein or in mere connivance and encouragement, we shall assuredly suffer later on because of what we have done... The cornerstone of this republic, as of all free governments, is respect for and obedience to the law. **Where we permit the law to be defied or evaded, whether by rich man or poor man, by black man or white, we are by just so much weakening the bonds of our civilization and increasing the chances of its overthrow**, and of the substitution therefore of a system in which there shall be violent alternations of anarchy and tyranny.

  - Theodore Roosevelt, letter to Winfield T. Durbin (https://books.google.com/books?id=KPccAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA277&dq=%22+permit+me+to+thank+you+as+an+American+citizen+for+the+admirable+way+in+which+you+have+vindicated+the+majesty+of+the+law+by+your+recent+action+in+reference+to+lynching.%22+%22August%22+%221903%22&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Wm4HVfbcDrfLsAS9yIGgCg&ved=0CCMQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=%22%20permit%20me%20to%20thank%20you%20as%20an%20American%20citizen%20for%20the%20admirable%20way%20in%20which%20you%20have%20vindicated%20the%20majesty%20of%20the%20law%20by%20your%20recent%20action%20in%20reference%20to%20lynching.%22%20%22August%22%20%221903%22&f=false) (6 August 1903), Oyster Bay, New York.

- There are **good men and bad men of all nationalities, creeds and colors**; and if this world of ours is ever to become what we hope some day it may become, it must be by the general recognition that **the man's heart and soul, the man's worth and actions**, determine his standing.

  - Theodore Roosevelt, letter (http://www.trsite.org/content/pages/speaking-loudly) (1 September 1903), Oyster Bay, New York.

- It is unwise to depart from the old American tradition and discriminate for or against any man who desires to come here and become a citizen, save on the ground of that man's fitness for citizenship... We can not afford to consider whether he is Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile; whether he is Englishman or Irishman, Frenchman or German, Japanese, Italian, or Scandinavian, or Magyar. **What we should desire to find out is the individual quality of the individual man**.

  - Theodore Roosevelt, message to the U.S. Congress (1905). As quoted in *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States, 1900–1914* (2012), by Drew Keeling, p. 161.

- Racializing the nation depended on the development of a culture and a politics-and a body of law-that declared that white babies had a different, dearer, and nonnegotiable value compared to nonwhite babies and that enforced those different values. Culture and laws were meant to identify which female bodies (and their babies) were marked for which kinds of administration and management by the state. In time, these laws constituted a formidable population-control structure and included antimiscegenation laws, immigration laws, and laws criminalizing contraception and abortion. After slavery ended and the babies of African Americans no longer automatically increased the wealth of slave-

owning whites, laws encouraged the sterilization of many women, frequently poor women of color. And welfare laws punished the pregnancy and childbearing of the same women. The government has also created a variety of laws over time that have separated children from their mothers. These have given the state both the power to decide what constitutes a good mother and the capacity to act against the motherhood of women defined as falling short of that standard, even when that standard might embed and depend on racial and class biases. Crucially, although officials wrote these[laws and others in language that called for policing the sex, reproductive, and maternal experiences of "individuals", in fact, the laws have had the effect of punishing whole "communities".
A reproductive justice lens helps us explore this history by revealing the impact of these kinds of state strategies on the lives of individuals and communities over time. This makes a reproductive justice history distinct from national histories that ignore the short-term or long-term consequences for women and their communities of the slavery regime, the program of Native genocide, anti-Asian immigration restrictions, the Mexican "repatriation," and the colonization of the Americas, the Pacific Islands, and the Caribbean.

  - Ross L, Solinger R (March 21, 2017). "Reproductive justice: an introduction" (https://www.google.com/books/edition/Reproductive_Justice/y6owDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Ross+L,+Solinger+R+(March+21,+2017).+Reproductive+justice:+an+introduction.+Oakland,+California.&printsec=frontcover). Oakland, California, pp.15-16

- In the colonial period, from the time of the first white European settlements until the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, population growth was crucial to the success of the North American colonial project and to the emergence of the new nation. From the white settler's point of view, population growth among Europeans was crucial for establishing, developing, enlarging, and defending their land claims, their accumulation of wealth, and their political control of the settled territories. From their point of view as well, removal of the Native population that obstructed European settlement was mandatory, as was rapid population growth among enslaved Africans, who provided the hard labor necessary to realize the full range of Europeans' goals.
European settlers pursued a combination of pronatalist and antinatalist strategies to encourage population growth of African Americans and discourage population growth of Indians. Together, these strategies amounted to "population control", a crucial aspect of establishing "the legal meanings of racial difference." The first law using reproduction for this purpose was passed in 1662 in the Virginia Colony. It overturned the English common law tradition that define the status of the child-slave or free-as following the status of the father. Now in Virginia, and soon in other colonies, the new law said that the status of every new baby would follow the status of its mother, not its father. This apparently simple change guaranteed the growth of the unfree population and ensured the longevity of the slavery regime. The law made the fertility of the enslaved woman into the essential, exploitable, colonial resource.

  - Ross L, Solinger R (March 21, 2017). "Reproductive justice: an introduction" (https://www.google.com/books/edition/Reproductive_Justice/y6owDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Ross+L,+Solinger+R+(March+21,+2017).+Reproductive+justice:+an+introduction.+Oakland,+California.&printsec=frontcover). Oakland, California, p.18

- The New York State Department of Health appeared to announce this week that non-white New Yorkers would receive priority over whites in receiving "extremely limited" Covid-19 therapies for people at risk.

  - Russia Today, Non-whites to receive priority for limited Covid pill (https://www.rt.com/news/544868-non-whites-covid-priority/), 31 December 2021

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- Individuals who have been wronged by unlawful racial discrimination should be made whole; but under our Constitution there can be no such thing as either a creditor or a debtor race. That concept is alien to the Constitution's focus upon the individual. ...To pursue the concept of racial entitlement - even for the most admirable and benign of purposes - is to reinforce and preserve for future mischief the way of thinking that produced race slavery, race privilege and race hatred. **In the eyes of government, we are just one race here. It is American.**

- Antonin Scalia, *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Mineta*, 534 U.S. 103 (1995).

- For a quarter of a century, in the Congress of the United States, we tried to get passed an anti-lynching bill. A simple law to protect the lives of black citizens below the Mason-Dixon line. This was not legislation, as our protesting brethren so often take us to task for—the legislation of brotherly love with they say is impossible. It was a law making it a federal offense to hang a human being from a tree, cover him with kerosene and cremate him. But the loudest cheerleaders of our current law and order rallies—the Eastlands and the Strom Thurmonds—were the very gentlemen who fought against that legislation until it was ultimately passed.
  It's hardly a revelation to me that the young people in this country take a dim view of our current up-tightness when it comes to street rioting. They believe, and I think quite properly, that on the scale of misbehavior the black man who takes a torch to a building or breaks a window to loot, and does so out of passion, is less the criminal than the white man who puts his torch to human beings and does so with a cold, calculated, predatory pre-planned blueprint of destruction.
  The black man, because he's suffered this for over a hundred years, looks upon us as a convocation of lizards—a cold blooded species of being who will call out the national guard to keep a ghetto from being burned down—but will raise no finger, let alone an octave of voice, to protest what has been done to him over the past century.
  - Rod Serling, "Address at Moorpark College" (https://rodserling.com/rod-serling-rips-loyalty-oaths-the-vietnam-war-and-social-inequity/), Moorpark College, Moorpark California, (December 3, 1968)

They believe, and I think quite properly, that on the scale of misbehavior the black man who takes a torch to a building or breaks a window to loot, and does so out of passion, is less the criminal than the white man who puts his torch to human beings and does so with a cold, calculated, predatory pre-planned blueprint of destruction.
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- There is in this country unhappily and currently a strange, convoluted sense of morality, and a selective moral outrage that goes with it. We scream out in anger against school busing – casting votes for self-seeking and simplistic demogogues, and conveniently showing no comparable concern for the fact that there are worse things than the inconvenience of busing. There are second-rate, shabby, ratty ghetto schools that we know exist, and have done nothing about for generations. And there are unwritten codes and laws of social attitude that consign our minorities to specific neighborhoods and perpetuate their poverty. We can send these minorities out to fight in questionable punitive adventures – and thank them profusely for dying for us, but we'll not allow them to put their garbage cans next to ours. Their deaths apparently are an obligation, but their realization of the dream of self-improvement is also obviously not a correlated right to that obligation.
  - Rod Serling, "The Commencement Address of Rod Serling" (https://rodserling.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Serling_Commencement_IC_1972.pdf), Ithica College, Ithica New York, (May 13, 1972), p. 3

- This country does not discriminate. No president, no officer in this country should hold office that has any hint of treating people differently because of the color of their skin or where they came from and that kind of thing. We believe in equality and fair treatment and that's the moral principle that we adhere to as a nation.
  - Jeff Sessions, interview with Matt Murphy (http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2016/03/jeff_sessions_on_donald_trump.html) (2016)

- Douglas, no man will ever be President of the United States who spells 'negro' with two gs.
  - William H. Seward, a retort to Stephen A. Douglas on the Senate floor, after the Illinois senator used an offensive slur in a speech. As quoted in *Team of Rivals* (2006), by Doris Kearns Goodwin (New York: Simon and Schuster), p. 163.

- When George Washington was fighting for freedom in the Revolutionary War, he was fighting for the freedom of "whites only." Rich whites, at that. After the so-called Revolution, you couldn't vote unless you were a white man and you owned a plot of land. The Revolutionary War was led by some rich white boys who got tired of paying heavy taxes to the king. It didn't have anything at all to do with freedom, justice, and equality for all.
  - Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1988), p. 33
- Once you're in prison, there are plenty of jobs, and, if you don't want to work, they beat you up and throw you in the hole. If every state had to pay workers to do the jobs prisoners are forced to do, the salaries would amount to billions. License plates alone would amount to millions. When Jimmy Carter was governor of Georgia, he brought a Black woman from prison to clean the state house and babysit Amy. Prisons are a profitable business. The are a way of legally perpetuating slavery. In every state more and more prisons are being built and even more are on the drawing board. Who are they for? they certainly aren't planning to put white people in them. Prisons are part of this government's genocidal war against Black and Third World people.
  - Assata Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography (1988), pp. 64-65
- American families are in the process of passing along a $9 trillion legacy from one generation to the next. ... Hand in hand with this money, I submit, what is really being handed down from generation to generation is the profound legacy of reproducing racial inequality. The legacy is difficult to discern because the language of family heritage hides it from our political consciousness.
  - Thomas M. Shapiro, *The Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality* (2005), p. 32
- If ... the tax scheme allows enormous intergenerational wealth transfers within families, some families will maintain considerable socioeconomic advantages over others, which allows them to provide better educations and better environments (both residential and familial) for their children, and their children's children. ... Even in a constitutional democracy in which each citizen has a publicly recognized claim to all the basic political and civil liberties, these socioeconomic inequalities would create an informal social hierarchy by birth: some would be born into great wealth and other social and political advantages while others would be born into poverty and its associated disadvantages. ... If, because a social scheme had the characteristics described above, the life prospects of some children were vastly inferior to those of others, it would be reasonable to regard these disadvantaged children as members of the lowest stratum in a descent-based social hierarchy. When such a hierarchy is, and has long been, marked by racial distinctions, equal citizenship, in any meaningful sense, does not obtain. In a society with an established democratic tradition, such a quasi-feudal order does not warrant the allegiance of its most disadvantaged members, especially when these persons are racially stigmatized. Indeed, the existence of such an order creates the suspicion that, despite the society's ostensible commitment to equal civil rights, white supremacy has simply taken a new form.
  - Tommie Shelby, "Justice, Deviance, and the Dark Ghetto," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2007), p. 133
- Despite making up only 13 percent of the male population of the United States, black men constitute almost half of the male prison population, and on any given day, nearly a third of all black men in their twenties are in prison, on probation, or on parole. These black men are overwhelmingly from ghetto communities. The high levels of police surveillance, racial profiling, stiff penalties for minor parole violations, felon

Once you're in prison, there are plenty of jobs, and, if you don't want to work, they beat you up and throw you in the hole. ... Prisons are a profitable business. The are a way of legally perpetuating slavery. In every state more and more prisons are being built and even more are on the drawing board. Who are they for? they certainly aren't planning to put white people in them. Prisons are part of this government's genocidal war against Black and Third World people. ~ Assata Shakur

disenfranchisement laws, and general harassment of young urban blacks intensify their hostility toward the criminal justice system, and invite urban blacks to conclude that they are living under a race-based police state whose intent is to prevent them from enjoying all the benefits of equal citizenship and to contain social unrest.

  - Tommie Shelby, "Justice, Deviance, and the Dark Ghetto," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2007), p. 142

- The main contemporary obstacle facing African Americans is neither white racism, as many liberals claim, nor black genetic deficiency... Rather it involves destructive and pathological cultural patterns of behavior: excessive reliance on government, conspiratorial paranoia about racism, a resistance to academic achievement as "acting white," a celebration of the criminal and outlaw as authentically black, and the normalization of illegitimacy and dependency.
  - Dinesh D'Souza, *The End of Racism* (1995), Ch. 1.
- Consistent with Martin Luther King's vision, the government should stop color-coding its citizens.
  - Dinesh D'Souza, "As I See It", in *Forbes* Vol. 158, no. 13 (2 December 1996), p. 48.
- America has gone further than any other society in establishing equality of rights. There is nothing distinctively American about slavery or bigotry. Slavery has existed in virtually every culture, and xenophobia, prejudice and discrimination are worldwide phenomena... No country expended more treasure and blood to get rid of slavery than the United States. While racism remains a problem, this country has made strenuous efforts to eradicate discrimination, even to the extent of enacting policies that give legal preference in university admissions, jobs, and government contracts to members of minority groups. Such policies remain controversial, but the point is that it is extremely unlikely that a racist society would have permitted such policies in the first place. And surely African Americans like Jesse Jackson are vastly better off living in America than they would be if they were to live in, say, Ethiopia or Somalia.
  - Dinesh D'Souza, "10 things to celebrate: Why I'm an anti-anti-American" (https://web.archive.org/web/20151010163703/http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/article/10-things-to-celebrate-Why-I-m-an-2567319.php#photo-2709803) (29 June 2003), *SFGate*.
- As an immigrant, I am constantly surprised by how much I hear racism talked about and how little I actually see it. Even fewer are the incidents in which I have experienced it directly.
  - Dinesh D'Souza, *What's So Great About America* (2003), Ch. 4: The Reparations Fallacy.
- Racism has never done this country any good, and it needs to be fought against, not put under new management for different groups.
  - Thomas Sowell, "Out of Context" (http://jewishworldreview.com/cols/sowell060209.php3), *Jewish World Review* (2 June 2009).
- What blows my mind is the disparity of response between when we think people that are foreign are going to kill us and us killing ourselves. If this had been what we thought was Islamic terrorism, it would fit into our… We invaded two countries, and spent trillions of dollars and thousand of American lives and now fly unmanned death machines over, like, five or six different countries, all to keep Americans safe. We got to do whatever we can, we'll torture people. We got to do whatever we can to keep Americans safe. Nine people, shot in a church, what about that? "Hey what are you gonna do? Crazy is crazy, right?" That's the part that I cannot for the life of me wrap my head around.

The profound legacy of reproducing racial inequality ... is difficult to discern because the language of family heritage hides it from our political consciousness. ~ Thomas M. Shapiro

- Jon Stewart, *The Daily Show*, June 19, 2015 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mjzrvRKv6Ks)

- I heard someone on the news say, “well, tragedy has visited this church”. This wasn’t a tornado. This was a racist. This was a guy with a Rhodesia badge on his sweater. You know, I hate to even use this pun, but this one is black and white. There’s no nuance here. And we’re gonna keep pretending like “I don’t get it, what happened, there’s one guy who lost his mind”, but we are steeped in that culture in this country and we refuse to recognize it.
  - Jon Stewart, *The Daily Show*, June 19, 2015 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mjzrvRKv6Ks)
- The Confederate flag flies over South Carolina, and the roads are named for Confederate generals, and the white guy is the one who feels like his country is being taken away from him. We’re bringing it on ourselves. And that’s the thing, Al-Qaeda, all those guys, ISIS, they’re not shit compared to the damage that we can apparently do to ourselves on a regular basis.
  - Jon Stewart, *The Daily Show*, June 19, 2015 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mjzrvRKv6Ks)

If ... the tax scheme allows enormous intergenerational wealth transfers within families, some families will maintain considerable socioeconomic advantages over others. ... White supremacy has simply taken a new form. ~ Tommie Shelby

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- We favor strengthening our common American identity and loyalty, which includes the contribution and assimilation of different racial and ethnic groups.
  - *Texan Republican Party Platform of 2014* (https://web.archive.org/web/20140619231738/http://www.texasgop.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/2014-Platform-Final.pdf) (June 2014), by the Republican Party of Texas.
- Americans and Europeans alike sometimes forget how unique is the United States of America. No other nation has been created so swiftly and successfully. No other nation has been built upon an idea; the idea of liberty. No other nation has so successfully combined people of different races and nations within a single culture.
  - Margaret Thatcher, speech at Hoover Institution lunch (http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108264) (8 March 1991)
- **We were never hyphenated as Arab-Americans. We were American, and I have always rejected the hyphen and I believe all assimilated immigrants should not be designated ethnically. Or separated, of course, by race, or creed either.** These are trends that ever try to divide us as a people.
  - Helen Thomas, as quoted in *My America: what my country means to me by 150 Americans from all walks of life* (http://books.google.com/?id=h4qpzo7yNxEC&pg=PA238&dq=tripoli+%22helen+thomas%22&q=tripoli%20%22helen%20thomas%22) (2002), Simon & Schuster, p. 238.

→ NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 5 about Hispanic origin and Question 6 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.

5. Is this person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?
   - No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
   - Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
   - Yes, Puerto Rican
   - Yes, Cuban
   - Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinian, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.*

6. What is this person's race? *Mark [X] one or more boxes.*
   - White
   - Black, African Am., or Negro
   - American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.*
   - Asian Indian
   - Japanese
   - Native Hawaiian
   - Chinese
   - Korean
   - Guamanian or Chamorro
   - Filipino
   - Vietnamese
   - Samoan
   - Other Asian — *Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.*
   - Other Pacific Islander — *Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.*
   - Some other race — *Print race.*

Consistent with Martin Luther King's vision, the government should stop color-coding its citizens. ~ Dinesh D'Souza

- When white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when in that same city—Birmingham, Alabama—five hundred black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically,

emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the black community, that is a function of institutional racism. When a black family moves into a home in a white neighborhood and is stoned, burned or routed out, they are victims of an overt act of individual racism which many people will condemn—at least in words. But it is institutional racism that keeps black people locked in dilapidated slum tenements, subject to the daily prey of exploitative slumlords, merchants, loan sharks and discriminatory real estate agents. The society either pretends it does not know of this latter situation, or is in fact incapable of doing anything meaningful about it.

  - Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*. Vintage Books. 1967. p. 4. ISBN 978-0-394-70033-5.

- Herein lies the match that will continue to ignite the dynamite in the ghettos: the ineptness of decision-makers, the anachronistic institutions, the inability to think boldly and above all the unwillingness to innovate. [...] And when the dynamite does go off, pious pronouncements of patience should not go forth. Blame should not be placed on “outside agitators” or on “Communist influence” or on advocates of Black Power. That dynamite was placed there by white racism and it was ignited by white racist indifference and unwillingness to act justly.

  - Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*. Vintage Books. 1967. p. 162. ISBN 978-0-394-70033-5.

- No California gentleman or lady ever abuses or oppresses a Chinaman, under any circumstances, an explanation that seems to be much needed in the east. **Only the scum of the population do it**; they and their children. They, and, naturally and consistently, the policemen and politicians, likewise, for these are the dust-licking pimps and slaves of the scum, there as well as elsewhere in America.

  - Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (http://www.friesian.com/quotes.htm).

- I mentioned Grant's loyalty – remember Harrison, his colored body servant? The whole family hated him, but that did not make any difference, the General always stood at his back, wouldn't allow him to be scolded; always excused his failures and deficiencies with the one unvarying formula, **We are responsible for these things in his race. It is not fair to visit our fault upon them, let him alone**. ... he was the most lovable great child of the world.

  - Mark Twain, letter to Henry Ward Beecher.

The degree to which it is hard or uncomfortable for you to have the issue raised is the degree to which you know inside of yourself that you aren't dealing with the issue. ... This is not a "guilt trip." It's a fact trip. ~ Barbara Smith

How unique is the United States of America. No other nation has been created so swiftly and successfully. No other nation has been built upon an idea; the idea of liberty. No other nation has so successfully combined people of different races and nations within a single culture. ~ Margaret Thatcher

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- In his 2009 visit to the US, the [UN] Special Rapporteur on Racism noted that "Socio-economic indicators show that poverty and race and ethnicity continue to overlap in the United States. This reality is a direct legacy of the past, in particular slavery, segregation, the forcible resettlement of Native Americans, which was confronted by the United States during the civil rights movement. However, whereas the country managed to establish equal treatment and non-discrimination in its laws, it has yet to redress the socioeconomic consequences of the historical legacy of racism."

  - US Human Rights Network: "'From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Implementing US Obligations Under the International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). Universal Periodic Review Joint Reports: United States of America. (https://www.

ushrnetwork.org/members/taskforce/cerd-taskforceCERD) *p. 44. (August 2010)*

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. ~ Fifteenth Amendment to the *United States Constitution*

V

- According to a CNN/Kaiser Family Foundation poll on race in America, 69% of blacks and 57% of Hispanics say past and present discrimination is a major reason for the problems facing people of their racial or ethnic group. And 26% of blacks and 15% of Hispanics said they felt that they had been treated unfairly because of their race or ethnicity at their place of work in the past 30 days.
  But proving discrimination is another thing. In 2014 alone, the EEOC received 31,073 charges alleging race-based discrimination but dismissed 71.4% of them due to a lack of reasonable cause.
  While workplace discrimination can be as overt as moving an employee off of a key assignment, or failing to promote them even though they are qualified, it can also be very subtle and very difficult to prove, experts say.
  - Tanzina Vega, "Working while brown: What discrimination looks like now" (https://money.cnn.com/2015/11/25/news/economy/racial-discrimination-work/), *CNN Money*, (November 25, 2015).
- According to Williams' study, 41% of Asian women said they felt pressure to behave in "feminine ways," while just 8% of black women said they did. In addition, 36% of white women and 28% of Latinas reported pressure to behave in "traditionally feminine roles." When a Latina is assertive or "behaves in ways that don't conform with expectations of femininity, she triggers a racial stereotype," that she is "hot-blooded," irrational," "crazy" or "too emotional," Williams said. In fact, 60% of Latinas surveyed said they experienced backlash when they expressed anger or weren't deferential.
  - Tanzina Vega, "Working while brown: What discrimination looks like now" (https://money.cnn.com/2015/11/25/news/economy/racial-discrimination-work/), *CNN Money*, (November 25, 2015).

W

- When one thinks of American blackness, there is the unsaid ugly truth that nearly all American blacks who have descended from the historical African diaspora in America have one (or several) rapacious white slave owners in their family tree at some point.
  Here, in the early days of the United States, was the invention of racism for economic necessity. From 1619 until 1865, white male Americans chose to breed a black enslaved workforce through the state-sanctioned rape of black women to build the new nation and support their white supremacist class. Race became the single unifying identifier — determining everything about one's life starting with this most basic division: enslaved or free.
  The American law was that the "condition of the child followed that of the mother," backed up by the "one drop rule," the legal framework that dictated even one drop of blackness made an individual black, never white. The idea of blackness as a pollutant, a taint that would erode the purity of whiteness, was seized by politicians around the world then — and now.
  Because of this legacy of sexual violence and anti-blackness, black and white mixed individuals have long been considered black in America. To a much larger degree than many people would like to admit, race still determines a vast part of one's life — social networks and mobility, birth and other medical care, employment opportunities and so on. Indeed, there is an entire genre of literature and film, popularized in the late 1800s and early 1900s, composed of blacks "passing" for white to avoid this racism. Some of the most famous examples are Nella Larsen's 1929 novel, *Passing*; James Weldon Johnson's 1912 opus, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*; and the 1959 film *The Imitation of Life*.

- Hope Wabuke, “When I Was White' Centers On The Formation Of Race, Identity And Self (https://www.npr.org/2019/08/08/745484864/when-i-was-white-centers-on-the-formation-of-race-identity-and-self)”, (August 8, 2019); reviewing "When I Was White: A Memoir", by Sarah Valentine

- **I believe the preservation of our civil liberties to be the most fundamental and important of all our governmental problems, because it always has been with us and always will be with us and if we ever permit those liberties to be destroyed, there will be nothing left in our system worthy of preservation.** They constitute the soul of democracy. I believe that there is grave danger in this country of losing our civil liberties as they have been lost in other countries.
  - Earl Warren, views on civil rights declared in a written statement requested by Robert W. Kenny, read during fund raising luncheon at the Biltmore Hotel, in Los Angeles, in the summer of 1938, as quoted in *Lawyers Guild Review* Vol. 13-14 (1953), p. 47.

As a nation based on the idea of equality, America has been a melting pot. It has taken people from diverse traditions and turned them into freedom-loving and decent citizens... In principle, people of all races can become citizens of a nation based on the idea that *'all men are created equal'*. ~ Thomas West

- We have consistently denied the constitutionality of measures which restrict the rights of citizens on account of race. There can be no doubt that restricting the freedom to marry solely because of racial classifications violates the central meaning of the Equal Protection Clause.
  - Earl Warren, *Loving v. Virginia* (https://www.amazon.com/Everyone-African-Science-Explodes-Myth/dp/1633880184/ref=asap_bc?ie=UTF8) (1967).

- **The Citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for giving to Mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy worthy of imitation.** All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. **For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.**
  - George Washington, letter to the Hebrew Congregation of Newport (1790).

- **We have abundant reason to rejoice, that, in this land, the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart.** In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining & holding the highest offices that are known in the United States.
  - George Washington, letter to The New Church (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw2&fileName=gwpage039.db&recNum=111) (22 January 1793).

- I don't feel we did wrong in taking this great country away from them, if that's what you're asking. Our so-called stealing of this country from them was just a matter of survival. There were great numbers of people who needed new land, and the Indians were selfishly trying to keep it for themselves...

  Look, I'm sure there have been inequalities. If those inequalities are presently affecting any of the Indians now alive, they have a right to a court hearing. But what happened 100 years ago in our country can't be blamed on us today...

  This may come as a surprise to you, but I wasn't alive when reservations were created — even if I do look that old. I have no idea what the best method of dealing with the Indians in the 1800s would have been. Our forefathers evidently thought they were doing the right thing.

- John Wayne, as quoted in *Playboy* (http://www.snopes.com/quotes/johnwayne/indians.asp) (May 1971).

- In his book *The Bible Told Them So: How Southern Evangelicals Fought to Preserve White Supremacy*, J. Russell Hawkins tells the story of a June 1963 gathering of more than 200 religious leaders in the White House. President John F. Kennedy was trying to rally their support for civil-rights legislation.
  Among those in attendance was Albert Garner, a Baptist minister from Florida, who told Kennedy that many southern white Christians held “strong moral convictions” on racial integration. It was, according to Garner, “against the will of their Creator.”
  “Segregation is a principle of the Old Testament,” Garner said, adding, “Prior to this century neither Christianity nor any denomination of it ever accepted the integration philosophy.”
  Two months later, in Hanahan, South Carolina, members of a Southern Baptist church—they described themselves as “Christ centered” and “Bible believing”—voted to take a firm stand against civil-rights legislation.
  “The Hanahan Baptists were not alone,” according to Hawkins. “Across the South, white Christians thought the president was flaunting Christian orthodoxy in pursuing his civil rights agenda.” Kennedy “simply could not comprehend the truth Garner was communicating: based on their religious beliefs, southern white Christians thought integration was evil.”
  A decade earlier, the Reverend Carey Daniel, pastor of First Baptist Church in West Dallas, Texas, had delivered a sermon titled “God the Original Segregationist,” in response to the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education. It became influential within pro-segregationist southern states. Daniel later became president of the Central Texas Division of the Citizens Council of America for Segregation, which asked for a boycott of all businesses, lunch counters included, that served Black patrons. In 1960, Daniel attacked those “trying to destroy the white South by breaking the color line, thus giving aid and comfort to our Communist enemies.”
  Now ask yourself this: Did the fierce advocacy on behalf of segregation, and the dehumanization of Black Americans, reflect in any meaningful way on the character of those who advanced such views, even if, say, they volunteered once a month at a homeless shelter and wrote a popular commentary on the Book of Romans?
  - Peter Wehner quoting J. Rusell Hawkins, “The Motivated Ignorance of Trump Supporters” (https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2024/06/when-are-trump-supporters-complicit/678704/), *The Atlantic*, (June 16, 2024)

Blacks got federal passports implying that they were citizens... The *Articles of Confederation* stated that *'the free inhabitants of these states... shall be entitled to all privileges of immunities of free citizens in the several states'*, Congress voted down South Carolina's proposal to insert the word 'white' into this clause. ~ Thomas West

- **All the leading Founders affirmed on many occasions that blacks are created equal to whites** and that slavery is wrong... **The whole Revolution was an antislavery movement, for the colonists. The political logic of the Revolution pointed inexorably to the eventually abolition of slavery** for the blacks as well... Americans did come to understand the meaning of their principles more fully as the Revolution proceeded. But with respect to slavery, they knew by the end of the founding era exactly what their principles meant. The more they based their arguments on the natural rights of *all* men, and not just the rights of Englishmen, the more the Americans noticed, by the same logic, that enslavement of blacks was also unjust... Slaves themselves appealed to the natural rights argument. In our time, the principles of the Revolution have been denounced as 'white' or 'Eurocentric'. It is true that a tiny minority of European philosophers, who opposed the convictions of most whites of their day, first published those principles to the world. But whoever may have discovered them, **American whites and blacks alike came to believe that the natural rights of mankind, like the laws of gravity discovered by Newton, were not some ethnocentric ideology but God's own truth**.

- Thomas G. West, *Vindicating the Founders* (https://books.google.com/books?id=DjlpSl-x1gMC&printsec=frontcover&dq=vindicating+the+founders&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CC8Q6AEwAGoVChMI0Jf4v8jRxwIVAXo-Ch1tYgf2#v=onepage&q&f=false) (2001), Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp. 4–7.

- The citizenship status of blacks was never quite clear. Obviously, they were not quite resident aliens, for they had no country but the United States. The federal government generally avoided taking a stand on black citizenship when the subject arose. A few blacks got federal passports implying that they were citizens... The *Articles of Confederation* stated that 'the free inhabitants of these states... shall be entitled to all privileges of immunities of free citizens in the several states', and **Congress voted down South Carolina's proposal to insert the word 'white' into this clause**. Chief Justice Taney, in the infamous 1857 *Dred Scott* decision, asserted that blacks had never been, and could never be, citizens of the United States. **He was wrong**... As a nation based on the idea of equality, America has been a melting pot. It has taken people from diverse traditions and turned them into freedom-loving and decent citizens... When the decision was finally made to accept blacks as full citizens, the founders' principles provided the theoretical foundation. Lincoln's revival of the declaration in the 1850s had prepared the way. In principle, people of all races can become citizens of a nation based on the idea that 'all men are created equal'.
  - Thomas G. West, *Vindicating the Founders* (https://books.google.com/books?id=DjlpSl-x1gMC&printsec=frontcover&dq=vindicating+the+founders&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CC8Q6AEwAGoVChMI0Jf4v8jRxwIVAXo-Ch1tYgf2#v=onepage&q&f=false) (2001), Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., p. 27–28.

- For decades, black parents have told their children that in order to succeed despite racial discrimination, they need to be “twice as good”: twice as smart, twice as dependable, twice as talented. This advice can be found in everything from literature to television shows, to day-to-day conversation. Now, a new paper from the National Bureau of Economic Research shows that when it comes to getting and keeping jobs, that notion might be more than just a platitude.
  There’s data that demonstrates the unfortunate reality: Black workers receive extra scrutiny from bosses, which can lead to worse performance reviews, lower wages, and even job loss. The NBER paper, authored by Costas Cavounidis and Kevin Lang, of Boston University, attempts to demonstrate how discrimination factors into company decisions, and creates a feedback loop, resulting in racial gaps in the labor force.
  - Gillian B. White, “Black Workers Really Do Need to Be Twice as Good” (https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/10/why-black-workers-really-do-need-to-be-twice-as-good/409276/), *The Atlantic*, (Oct 7, 2015).

- If you know the history of the whole concept of whiteness—if you know the history of the whole concept of the white race, where it came from and *for what reason*—you know that it was a trick, and it’s worked brilliantly. You see, prior to the mid to late 1600s, in the colonies of what would become the United States, there was no such thing as the white race. Those of us of European descent did not refer to ourselves by that term really ever before then.
  - Tim Wise, "The Pathology of Privilege: Racism" (https://web.archive.org/web/20091009155847/http://www.mediaed.org/assets/products/137/transcript_137.pdf) (2008), *Media Education Foundation*.

- When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary.

  The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worth while, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples.

- Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933)

- For people who want to question whether America has a racist history, just go back and look at the political cartoons. The history is horrible.
  - Matt Wuerker 2021 Politico Interview (https://www.politico.com/newsletters/politico-nightly/2021/05/25/the-shocking-yang-cartoon-in-context-492987)

X

- America has a very serious problem. Not only does America have a very serious problem, but our people have a very serious problem. America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here.
  - Malcolm X, statement in Detroit, Michigan (10 November 1963).

- I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. ... No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy.
  - Malcolm X, Speech in Cleveland, Ohio (April 3, 1964).

- It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism.
  - Malcolm X, Speech, May 29, 1964, *The Harlem Hate-Gang-Scare*, p. 69

Ta-Nehisi Coates Makes the Case for Reparations at Historic Congressional Hearing, Democracy Now(20 June 2019)

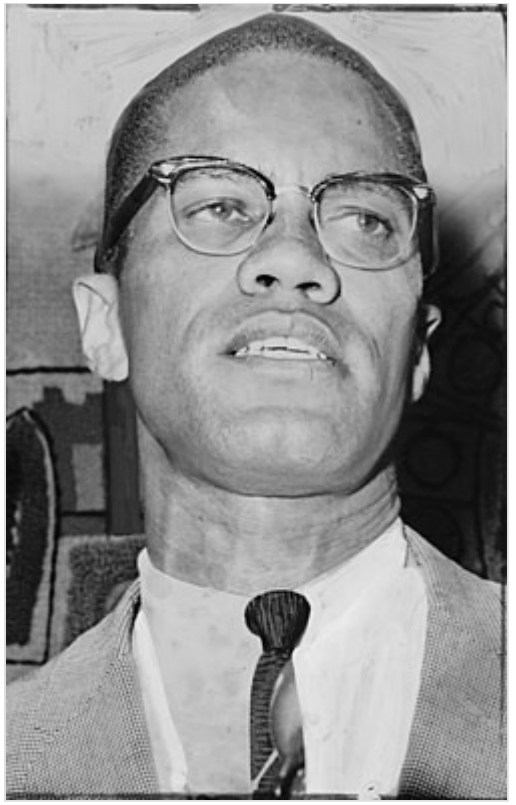
(full program & transcript online) (https://www.democracynow.org/2019/6/20/ta_nehisi_coates_testimony_congress_reparations#transcript)

- Yesterday, when asked about reparations, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell offered a familiar reply: America should not be held liable for something that happened 150 years ago, since none of us currently alive are responsible... This rebuttal proffers a strange theory of governance, that American accounts are somehow bound by the lifetime of its generations. But well into this century, the United States was still paying out pensions to the heirs of Civil War soldiers. We honor treaties that date back some 200 years, despite no one being alive who signed those treaties... But we are American citizens, and thus bound to a collective enterprise that extends beyond our individual and personal reach.

- As historian Ed Baptist has written, enslavement, quote, "shaped every crucial aspect of the economy and politics" of America, so that by 1836 more than $600 million, or almost half of the economic activity in the United States, derived directly or indirectly from the cotton produced by the million-odd slaves. By the time the enslaved were emancipated, they comprised the largest single asset in America—$3 billion in 1860 dollars, more than all the other assets in the country combined.
  The method of cultivating this asset was neither gentle cajoling nor persuasion, but torture, rape and child trafficking. Enslavement reigned for 250 years on these shores. When it ended, this country could have extended its hallowed principles—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—to all, regardless of color. But America had other principles in mind. And so, for a century after the Civil War, black people were subjected to

a relentless campaign of terror, a campaign that extended well into the lifetime of Majority Leader McConnell.
It is tempting to divorce this modern campaign of terror, of plunder, from enslavement. But the logic of enslavement, of white supremacy, respects no such borders, and the god of bondage was lustful and begat many heirs—coup d'états and convict leasing. vagrancy laws and debt peonage, redlining and racist GI bills, poll taxes and state-sponsored terrorism.

- We grant that Mr. McConnell was not alive for Appomattox. But he was alive for the electrocution of George Stinney. He was alive for the blinding of Isaac Woodard. He was alive to witness kleptocracy in his native Alabama and a regime premised on electoral theft. Majority Leader McConnell cited civil rights legislation yesterday, as well he should, because he was alive to witness the harassment, jailing and betrayal of those responsible for that legislation by a government sworn to protect them. He was alive for the redlining of Chicago and the looting of black homeowners of some $4 billion. Victims of that plunder are very much alive today. I am sure they'd love a word with the majority leader.
What they know, what this committee must know, is that while emancipation dead-bolted the door against the bandits of America, Jim Crow wedged the windows wide open. And that is the thing about Senator McConnell's "something." It was 150 years ago. And it was right now.
The typical black family in this country has one-tenth the wealth of the typical white family. Black women die in childbirth at four times the rate of white women. And there is, of course, the shame of this land of the free boasting the largest prison population on the planet, of which the descendants of the enslaved make up the largest share.



I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. ... No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. ~ Malcolm X

Ta-Nehisi Coates: Reparations Are Not Just About Slavery But Also Centuries of Theft & Racial Terror, Democracy Now (20 June 2019)

(full program & transcript online) (https://www.democracynow.org/2019/6/20/ta_nehisi_coates_reparations_america_slavery)

- You know, the two great crimes in American history is obviously...the near destruction...of this country's Native American population, the theft of their land, and on to work that land was brought in native Africans into this country, beginning in 1619. Those twin processes profoundly altered the shape of the world and made this country possible. Obviously, first of all, you know, the land on which America and Americans currently reside was the land of Native Americans, but the people brought in to break that land just transformed it.

- The profits derived from slavery are more extreme than I think are commonly acknowledged. As I said yesterday, in 1860, the combined worth of the 4 million enslaved black people in this country was some $3 billion, nearly $75 billion in today's share of dollars. Cotton, in 1860, was this country's largest export—not just its largest export, it was the majority of exports out of this country. So, from a financial perspective, just the economics of it, it's absolutely impossible to imagine America without enslavement.

- The onset of the Civil War, the greatest preponderance, the greatest population per capita of millionaires and multimillionaires in this country was in the Mississippi River Valley. It wasn't in Boston, wasn't in Chicago, wasn't in New York. The richest people in this country were

slaveholders. Most of our earliest presidents were slaveholders. And the fact that they were presidents is not incidental to the fact that they—to their slaveholding. That was how they built their wealth. That was how Thomas Jefferson built his wealth. That was how George Washington built his wealth. Individual slaves were the equivalent of, say, owning a home today. They were people, but turned into objects of extreme wealth. So, just from the economic perspective, there's that.

- The average African-American family in this country making $100,000, which is, you know, decent money, actually lives in the same kind of neighborhood that the average white family making $35,000 a year lives in. That is totally tied to the legacy of enslavement and Jim Crow and the input and the idea in the mind that white people and black people are somehow deserving of different things.

- If I injure you, the injury persists even after I actually commit the act. If I stab you, you may suffer complications long after that initial actual stabbing. If I shoot you, you may suffer complications long after that initial shooting. That's the case with African Americans. There are people well within the living memory of this country that are still suffering from the after-effects of that.

- This whole thing about who should get a check, and should we cut checks, you know, I understand those questions. That's great. Those people should support H.R. 40, though, because that's what H.R. 40 does. It tries to get that figured out, and get that math figured out, and figure out the best way to do it. But if we don't actually have a study, we can't actually answer those questions. You can't ask a doctor to make a diagnosis before there's an actual examination.

- And in terms of poverty and race in this country, again, you know, one of the things that I really, really wanted to stress is, the level of poverty specifically that you see in the African-American community is not accidental. It's not accidental. This is part of the process. The process of enslavement involves stealing something from someone. It involves taking something from someone.

- Jim Crow was theft. First and foremost, it was theft. If I tax you or if tell you you have to be loyal to this country and pledge fealty to its laws, but then I don't give you the same degree of protection, I don't give you the same access to resources that I give to another group of people, I have effectively stolen something from you. I have stolen your tax money. I have stolen your fealty.

- So, when the state of Mississippi, for instance, taxes black people and then builds one facility for education and another for—one facility for education for whites and then an inferior facility for blacks, that's theft. That's theft. If I build a public pool system and then tell you you can't use that public pool system, that's theft.

- And so, that is the long history of this country, that doesn't end, again, conservatively, until 1968. And so, there are people who are very, very much alive who have experienced that, who are suffering the after-effects and effects of that. And that's what, you know, as far as I'm concerned, the whole movement around reparations is about.

- Mitch McConnell... does not want to be responsible for enslavement that happened 150 years ago, but, yet and still, wants the right to operate his business or operate his career in a building that was built by enslaved people.

- I think the testimony was that one should not receive payment that would properly be due to the enslaved. But this country is, to this very day, receiving payment that was due to its enslavers. That's the way inheritance works in this country, however one might feel about that. If I assemble a mass of money, I have the right to pass that on to my kid. My kid has the right to do whatever and then pass it on to their kid. And so, there's something fundamentally injust if I have secured that money by taking it from one group, and then I pass that money on to my kid.

Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System (June 1983)

Joan Petersilia, *Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System (https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/127137NCJRS.pdf)*, *National Institute of Justice*, *(June 1983),*

- Earlier studies have shown that arrests depend heavily on witnesses' or victims' identifying or carefully describing the suspect (Greenwood, Petersilia, Chaiken, 1978). Prosecutors may have a more difficult time making cases against minorities "beyond a reasonable doubt" because of problems with victim and witness identifications. Frequently, witnesses or victims who were supportive at the arrest stage become less cooperative as the' case proceeds. Defenders of the system argue that the statistics do not lie, and that the system does not discriminate but simply reacts to the prevalence of crime in the black community.
  - p.xxiii
- When the' crime is murder, forcible rape, robbery, or aggravated assault, a judge has less latitude in deciding about probation, sentence length, or whether the sentence will be served in jail or prison-no matter what color a man is. As we move down the line to lesser crimes, disparity emerges. The most striking example is larceny; Blacks make up only 30 percent of the arrest population, but 51 percent of the prison population. Why the disparity for these crimes? One explanation may be that judges can exercise more discretion in dealing with offenders convicted of these crimes.
  - p.2
- For critics of the criminal justice system, the arrest and imprisonment rates for blacks and other minorities suggest that the system discriminates against those groups. They argue, for example, that blacks, who make up 12 percent of the national population, could not possibly commit 48 percent of the crime: Yet that is exactly what arrest and imprisonment rates imply about black criminality. Defenders of the system argue that the arrest and imprisonment rates do not lie; the system simply reacts to the prevalence of crime in the black community. As we have noted repeatedly, prior research has not. settled this controversy. For every study that finds discrimination in arrests, convictions, sentencing, prison treatment, or parole, another denies it.
  - p.89.
- Research on sentence patterns lends support to the contention that the system "values" whites more than it does minorities. For example, Zimring, Eigen, and O'Malley (1976) found that black defendants who killed whites received life imprisonment or the death sentence more than twice as often as blacks who killed blacks. Other research has found this relationship for other crimes as well: Defendants receive harsher sentences if the victim is white and lesser sentences if he or she is black. If harsher sentences do indicate that minority status equals lower status in the criminal justice system, that equation may also help explain why minorities serve longer terms, all other things held equal, than white prisoners.
  - pp.95-96.
- A minority male is almost four times more likely than a white male to have an index arrest in his lifetime: One in every two nonwhite males in large U.S. cities can expect to have at least one index arrest. However, the RIS data indicate that, once involved in crime, whites and minorities in the sample have virtually the same annual crime commission rates. This accords with Blumstein and Graddy's (1981) finding that the recidivism rate for index offenses is approximately .85 for both whites and nonwhites. Thus, the data suggest that large racial differences in aggregate arrest rates must be attributed primarily to differences in involvement, and not to different patterns among those who do participate.

Under these circumstances, any empirically derived indicators of recidivism should target a roughly equal number of whites and minorities. In other words, even if recidivism among whites had different causes or correlates than recidivism among non-whites, they should at least balance one another. They should not consistently identify nonwhites as more appropriate candidates for more severe treatment.

- p.98.

See also

- Bigotry
- Black Lives Matter
- Defund the police
- History of the United States
- Jim Crow laws
- Lynching
- Post-racial America
- Racism
- Reparations for slavery
- Residential segregation in the United States
- H.R. 40 - Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act
- Slavery
- White privilege

External links

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